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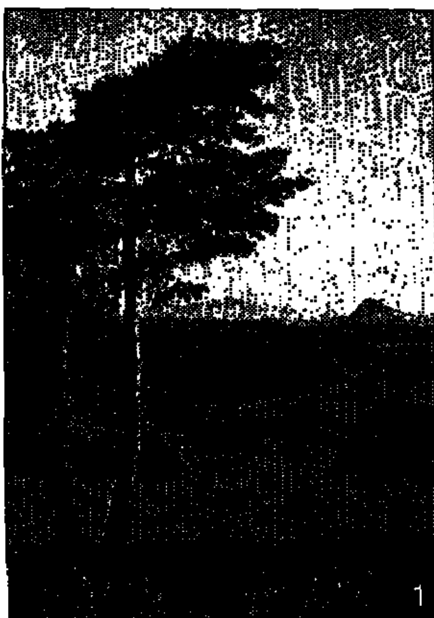
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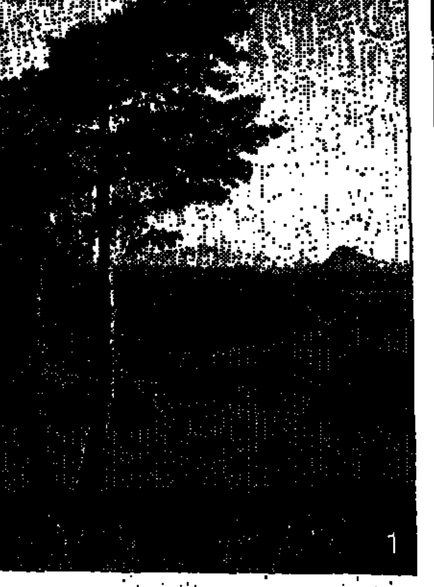
1 View of the Hegau region, near Tuttlingen
2 Heidenheim
3 Nördlingen
4 Urach
5 Hohenzollern Castle



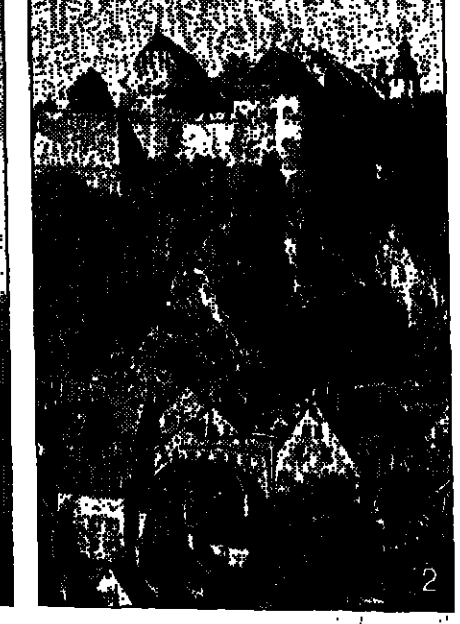
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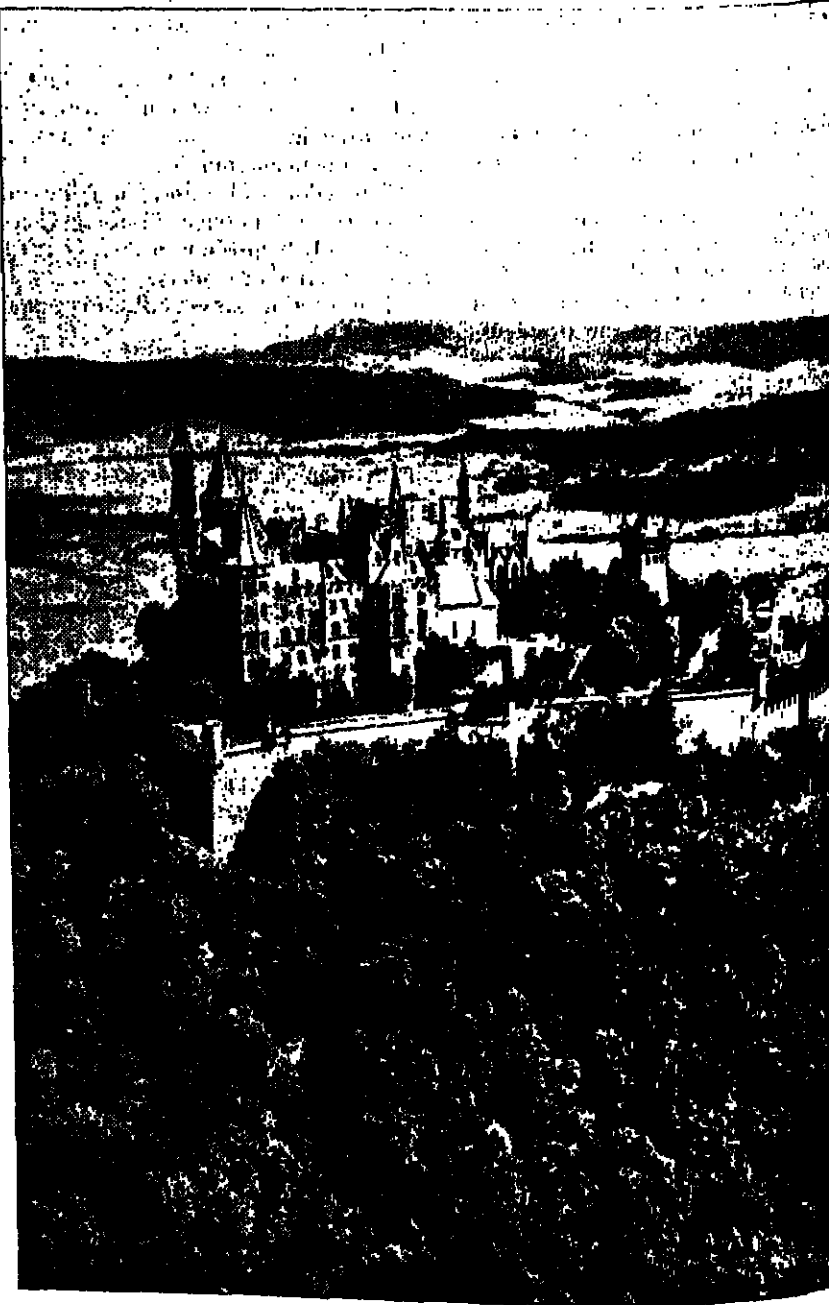












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Europe blueprints its own security policy

The French started the ball rolling, alarmed by the Soviet arms build-up and upset by what they felt were signs of German weakness in the missile deployment debate.

Further moves have since been made, and now a separate security policy is to be drawn up, organised and implemented by and for Western Europe.

Are these just words spoken by French and German politicians to brighten up the gloomy outlook for European integration?

Or do they really stand for a new feeling of fundamental political change? Maybe the latest round of top-level Franco-Federal Republic consultations in Paris will provide some clue to the answer.

Chancellor Kohl last referred to this security policy vision at the Travemünde conference of Bundeswehr commanding officers.

What he had to say was brief, but to the point. Both he and Defence Minister Wörner are very happy with the way institutionalised Franco-German security policy consultations have developed since 1982.

Herr Wörner says the talks have been among the most pleasant experiences of his term at the Defence Ministry.

For the Opposition, Social Democrats such as Willy Brandt, Hans-Jochen Vogel and Horst Ehmke also call for Europe to be given a greater weight in defence partnership with the United States.

They and the Bonn government base their arguments on the vision of two pillars of Western security, one American, the other European, as envisaged by John F. Kennedy as US President in the early 1960s.

Shortly before the Chancellor outlined his views, President Mitterrand of France dealt with this issue in The Hague. He did so both as a promoter of the scheme and as a brakeman.

He was clearly keen to discourage any mistaken ideas about the flexibility of France as a nuclear power resulting from the new move.

Yet in other respects the debate is being conducted in a much livelier fashion in France than in Germany.

Defence Minister Charles Hernu is not only popularising the idea of formulating Western European defence policy; he also has a framework at the ready: the Western European Union.

Britain, France, Germany, Italy and the Benelux countries are WEU members. Membership would be thrown open to other. Could the WEU really be shaken out of what will soon have been years of lethargy?

For months French experts have taken part, in the columns of *Le Monde*, in an ambitious debate on a more marked European aspect of security policy.

Former French President Giscard d'Estaing aired his views to Rhine-Main businessmen in Frankfurt. He dealt with his plan for a Franco-German security treaty, a plan scotched by his failure to secure re-election.

So far only fragments of a structure of ideas have found their way to a wider public. There is a backlog of impetus in favour of a more independent Europe shouldering greater political responsibility.

But a lack of linguistic clarity bears witness to both circumspection and vagueness on matters of substance.

Many fragments of ideas run through the fingers like grains of sand. All that can be said for sure is that no-one envisages decoupling from US nuclear power.

"The establishment of a European security policy," the Chancellor said, "must not be understood as an alternative to the alliance with America."

Or: "Endeavours to intensify Franco-German cooperation in security policy are an expression of European defence solidarity."

M. Mitterrand takes the same view, but in The Hague he also made it clear that as a French head of state claiming continuity with General de Gaulle he had no intention of dispensing with the doctrine of full independence for France.

"The Atlantic alliance," he said, "is not in the process of being replaced by a European one. That is because no military power is in a position to stand substitute for the American arms arsenal.

"France at any rate will be using its nuclear task force strictly for purposes of its own deterrent strategy."

At another point he noted that "France has not made any secret to its allies of the fact that apart from the protection of its national sanctuary and the vital interests that entails it cannot look after European security.

"Both for strategic reasons and for reasons of international policy arising from the Second World War the decision to use French nuclear weapons must remain indivisible."

This viewpoint was straightforward. It was followed by the surprising proposal to set up a manned European space platform as an early warning system to forestall any threat to Western Europe.

The idea testifies to M. Mitterrand's determination not to allow the security debate to get out of hand. The West Germans can certainly not expect too much; France's basic position remains unchanged.

That was clear last autumn when the Gaullist leader M. Chirac boldly referred in Bonn to a suitable German participation in an independent European nuclear deterrent.

He was then forced to beat a hasty retreat into more non-committal statements. France may be reviewing its nuclear doctrine, but there can be no doubt of its determination to retain sole control of the *force de frappe*.

In spite of well-meaning rhetoric, talk of European security policy is fundamentally turning out to be a matter of Franco-German deliberation.

Results could be achieved at either of two levels:

First the major members of the European Community could organise regular security policy consultations with the aim of ensuring that European Nato countries speak with one voice, especially in dealings with the United States.

They would need to reach agreement on their analysis of the threat, including clashes outside Nato territory, and the conclusions to be reached, on East-West detente and on arms limitation.

Arms cooperation issues might also be included. Is the Euro-summit the right framework for this debate? That, to say the least, is extremely doubtful.

The Genscher-Colombo bid for security policy discussions at the EEC summit level was rejected a year ago.

Might the Western European Union be a more suitable one, as suggested by German Social Democrats and French Socialists?

Second, Franco-German security arrangements could form a nucleus. Progress so far has been encouraging, although the trickiest issues have yet to be raised.

It is a matter of Bonn and Paris coming closer on the procedural rules, military means and political aims of deterrence and, if need be, defence.

France is not a party to the military organisation of Nato, and Germany cannot consider a separate strategy bypassing the North Atlantic pact.

But it must first be seen whether France is prepared to make definite commitments of any kind for the event of an emergency or whether nothing more is envisaged than contingency planning.

The crucial point will be whether France sees its neighbour to the east solely as a strategic buffer zone or will one day be prepared to extend its national sanctuary to include the Federal Republic, given that in the event of war Europe would be one enormous battlefield.

It will be for Herr Kohl and M. Mitterrand to decide whether the course of rapprochement is to be continued or amended.

Kurt Becker

(Die Zeit, 24 February 1984)



Carstens in Indonesia

A joint German Indonesian nuclear research project was among the topics discussed when Bonn President Karl Carstens visited Indonesia during his tour of Asian nations. Here, President Carstens (left) and Frau Veronica Carstens (partly obscured) walk in the gardens of the guest house at Merdeka Palace, Djakarta, with President Suharto (extreme right) and Mrs Suharto. (Photo: dpa)

IN THIS ISSUE

Blockaded Alpine passes symbolise the condition of the European Community. Little or nothing is still in working order.

Politicians keen to guard national advantages are busy erecting barriers as annoying as the blockades set up by truck drivers and customs officer on the Brenner Pass between Austria and Italy.

Chancellor Kohl and Prime Minister Craxi of Italy, reviewing the situation from Bonn, feel Europe has very little time left in which to stage a successful rescue bid.

President Mitterrand of France, whom the Chancellor met that evening in Paris, takes an equally critical view of the general political condition of the Ten.

If the European Community with its 10,000 Eurocrats were to be measured by free enterprise yardsticks, the president of the EEC Commission, Gaston Thorn, would long since have had to call in the receiver.

Every member of the Common Market seems intent on arriving at European terms that are to its advantage and to the disadvantage of the other nine.

The idealistic momentum of the 1950s has been paralysed by the bargaining over milk prices, butter mountains and fish catches.

■ THE EEC

Blockaded Alpine roads tell the real story

National rivalries and a narrow-minded approach have made the idea of a Europe of fatherlands as far-distant a prospect as de Gaulle's dream of Europe as one fatherland.

Direct elections to the European Parliament are to be held again this summer. How is enthusiasm for the European idea to be whipped up when responsible politicians and Eurocrats who often act in total disregard of reality ensure that the European Community constantly falls under a cloud of negative publicity?

Lightning visits by heads of goverment from one EEC capital to another indicate that Common Market leaders are determined not to allow matters to drag on in this way.

Britain's egoistic outlook, especially on the Common Agricultural Policy, has been largely to blame for plunging the European Community into its present uncertainty and striking incapacity to act.

A number of erstwhile critics may now be apologising in their mind's eye to the late General de Gaulle, whose misgivings about British membership of the EEC seem to have been borne out in retrospect.

Yet it would be wrong to turn the clock back in view of the current crisis and to sympathise with the idea of reverting to a six-member European Community.

Close cooperation between Paris and Bonn might well rearouse suspicions among the smaller EEC countries that they are likely to be brushed to one side by the larger members of the Common Market.

Signor Craxi rightly warned Herr Kohl of the danger of developments veering toward fresh imbalance in Europe.

The European disease of the 1980s consists of signs of paralysis brought on by the virus of excess. The EEC cannot be constantly expected to do more and more while at the same time economising to the hilt.

So if Common Market officials and politicians are to be brought back to the straight and narrow they must realise first and foremost that self-discipline and restraint are indispensable at a time when all countries are calling on taxpayers to make more and more sacrifices.

Herr Kohl and M. Mitterrand will have to make this point clear to Mrs Thatcher. Surely a British Tory government will not want to be to blame for the failure of the EEC.

But even if Mrs Thatcher were to return to the fold of Common Market discipline that would still not mean Brussels was in the clear.

Two institutional reforms seem essential. First, there must be a review of the terms on which the Ten, soon to be 12, will run their common affairs.

The present rules date back to the early days of the Six as laid down by Jean Monnet, Konrad Adenauer and Alcide de Gasperi.

Britain, Greece and Ireland have since joined the EEC and brought with them wider perspectives and fresh problems.

Agreement must now be reached on which Europe is to be aimed at and how the European Community is to set about establishing it.

The second reform must aim at restoring the Community's ability to act. There must be an end to strictly unanimous decisions by the Council of Ministers.

M. Thorn has pilloried the existing arrangement with the following comment: "On the fateful day when it was decided to reach all decisions unanimously it was really decided no long[er] to reach any decisions at all."

Europe can only actively assume [its] role that befits its power and standing [in] world affairs once majority voting ha[s] been agreed in Brussels.

Over the years, sad to say, enthusia[sm] for Europe has given way among peop[le] in member-countries to growing sobe[rie]ty, up to and including indifference.

The European Community has prove[d] incomprehensible in its activities as [far] as many people are concerned, whi[ch] has made it unpopular.

The ideals of the founding fathe[rs] have been stunted to an expensive ins[titu]tion disappointed Europeans could w[ell] do without.

There can be no reversing this tre[nd] merely by fine words and demonstrat[ive] European gatherings.

A root-and-branch reform is all th[at] will rehabilitate the European Commu[]nity in the opinion of 270 million Eu[ro]peans and reactivate the emergence o[f a] European identity transcending fro[n]tiers.

There is little time left in which to ca[r]ry it out.

Hermann Dexheimer

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 25 February 1984)



(Cartoon: Horst Haitzinger/Nordwest Ze[itung])

Soviet satellite states look to Brussels

Hungary says it wants a trade agreement with the EEC. This might mark the start of something.

Hungary would not be the first Comecon country to take this step. Rumania was. But Hungary, unlike Rumania, is not an outsider in the East Bloc.

There are already rumours that Czechoslovakia also wants a deal with the EEC.

For decades the Soviet Union has sought to prevent recognition of the Common Market by the East Bloc, and when the EEC was no longer to be avoided as a reality Moscow tried to negotiate a formal agreement between the EEC and Comecon.

But it was a bid that was doomed to failure. Comecon is not really a community at all. It has no supranational power of its own and owes its importance strictly to Soviet hegemony.

Individual advances to Brussels cannot be taken to mean that the East Bloc is already falling apart at the seams.

All they means for the time being is that smaller Eastern European countries are doing what ought to come naturally: looking after their own interests and showing a degree of independence.

It is a case of the flag following trade. Eastern Europe can, when all is said and done, point to one major beneficiary of the European Community in the East Bloc.

It is the GDR, which enjoys the advantages of EEC membership via the Federal Republic of Germany. Why should Czechoslovakia and Hungary not enjoy similar benefits?

The Soviet Union has a straightforward answer to this question, although it may not be based on strictly economic considerations.

What is so interesting is that Moscow can no longer prevent its satellites from arriving at a different answer of their own.

The East Bloc is starting, in the form of individual members, to negotiate with a Western bloc. *Carl Gustaf Ströhm*

(Die Welt, 24 February 1984)

Border chaos proves a point, say MPs

For years Euro-MPs felt they were crying in the wilderness. Eighteen months ago they lost patience and took the Council of Ministers to court.

In a case before the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg they complained that the Common Market had done absolutely nothing by way of a common transport policy in 25 years.

It is the first case the European Parliament has taken to Luxembourg on grounds of inactivity by the European Community.

The court has yet to reach a ruling but Euro-MPs feel the facts have proved their point as commercial vehicles set up barricades all over the EEC.

The hold-ups on the Brenner Pass and the chaos caused all over France by truck blockades are a direct result of years of inactivity at Common Market level, European parliamentarians argue.

Horst Seefeld, the German Social Democratic chairman of the European Parliament's transport committee, says events are a "resounding box on the ears for the national governments of EEC member-states."

Many of the demands made by Italian customs officers and French road hauliers tally with what resolutions by the European Parliament have demanded for years.

The basic demand is for borders inside the European Community to be thrown totally open.

In detail the European Parliament has repeatedly called for better collaboration between national customs and investigating agencies and the corresponding EEC authorities.

It has demanded an immediate end to all border formalities that are unwarranted or of no real significance and an end to checks that could be carried out inland.

The Strasbourg Parliament has called for customs formalities to be carried out inland, at the point of departure of the shipment, for instance.

Transport specialist Herr Seefeld says some of these demands were made by Euro-MPs before 1979 when the first direct elections to Strasbourg were held.

"If only national governments had dealt more intensively with these problems and acted on the many recommendations," he says, "the tragedy that is happening on European roads today could have been forestalled."

But this "tragedy" will be an issue [in] the forthcoming election campaign a[nd] an opportunity for Euro-MPs to pro[ve] their existence is justified.

This year, 500 million ecus have be[en] included in budget estimates for EE[C] transport policy. Not much, but 3[]4 per cent up on 1983.

This is a point Euro-MPs will be a[ble] to mention with special pride. It is a[n] unprecedented development in the h[is]tory of the Common Market.

As they see it, it proves it was th[ey] who by taking the Council of Minist[ers] to court reminded the Council of it[s] clear commitment by the term of th[e] Treaty of Rome to draw up a Europea[n] transport policy. *Rolf Spitzhüttl*

(Mannheimer Morgen, 25 February 1984)

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Strauss gets a frosty welcome home

The Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, had a meeting with the Bavarian Premier and CSU chief, Franz Josef Strauss, last week after Strauss had returned from a visit to Syria.

A message issued after the meeting could hardly have been more terse. All it said was that the Syrian trip had not been discussed.

The talkative Strauss would have liked the Middle East visit to have been given political significance and drama.

But Chancellor Kohl would have none of that. Just like he would have none of Strauss in the affair of Defence Minister Manfred Wörner and the case of General Kiessling.

What Strauss described as a "peace mission" to Syria was brushed aside by Kohl as another unpredictable Strauss escapade.

He has by now manoeuvred himself so far into the wings of the political stage that he is no longer taken seriously by the Bonn government.

This is in essence what the statement following the Strauss-Kohl meeting amounts to.

The prevailing view in the Bonn coalition parties is that Strauss has gone too far in his insatiable image building drive.

Even Strauss himself, for whom nothing seems impossible, must have realised by now that his ebullient unpredictability has worn thin.

Foreign politicians could even lose interest in him once word gets around that his star is dimming.

His visit last summer to several East European countries was still certain of widespread attention as part of the vaunted about-turn in Bonn politics.

The billion deutschemark loan to East Germany he engineered was a spectacular event because it made Strauss backer of the continuity of Bonn's *Ostpolitik*.

But that was the point at which many of his followers began doubting his loyalty to CSU party principles.

His allegedly spontaneous trip to Grenada was no more than an attention-getting device, while his visit to Syria shows a man who greatly overestimates his worth.

At the root of Strauss's tragic mistake is the fact that he feels that his almost operetta-like escapades could put Bonn on the right track and influence world affairs.

His secret meeting with the wily SPD politician Horst Ehmke — a meeting that impressed nobody — falls in the same category.

Conditions are no longer what they were years ago when Strauss raised the spectre of a fourth national party.

The threat of a grand coalition now does not even frighten the FDP, a party constantly fighting for survival.

Strauss seems bent on dismantling himself. Perhaps he regards it as an injustice that he has been barred from the top post in Bonn.

But his antics only serve to confirm those who — despite his political talent — have always been wary of him.

Instead of simmering down with age and coming to terms with the fact that power in Bonn rests with others, Strauss seems to be out to hamper rather than support the coalition in its work. Yet, well founded advice could strengthen his influence on national politics.

It is only natural that such erratic moves should lead to political mistakes.

His conspiratorial meeting with Ehmke and his hasty demand that Wörner resign were mistakes that confused even his own followers.

It is most unlikely that Strauss will succeed in his bud to unsettle Kohl and Genscher through constant pinpricks.

The Chancellor, always a thorough party man and an astute analyst of majorities, has every reason to be unperturbed.

He can rest assured that even the CSU would not follow Strauss to a man should he attempt a rebellion against the Bonn setup.

Even a superficial analysis of present conditions shows that neither the FDP nor the CSU have any alternative to a coalition with the CDU.

Strauss has been a constant irritant to Helmut Kohl, often driving him to desperation.

But Kohl has rolled with the punches, frequently to the point of self-denial.

Despite his not exactly friendly relations with Strauss, the Chancellor has enough political instinct not to let it come to a head-on clash.

The fact that the Chancellor is letting the CSU leader punch at shadows by simply ignoring his political capers shows how thoroughly the situation has changed.

Strauss was never popular, but he was respected. Now he is not even feared.

Ludwig Harms

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 24 February 1984)

Honorary degree for Wehner

Herbert Wehner (left) former leader of the Social Democrats in the Bundestag, receives an honorary doctor's degree of the Hebraic University of Jerusalem. Making the presentation is the university's vice-chancellor, Avraham Harman. The ceremony took place in Bonn.

(Photo: Bundesbildstelle)

Environmental group MPs 'not trusted'

The Greens have been excluded from a parliamentary group appointed to act as a parliamentary watchdog over the intelligence services.

They have apparently been kept out because the major parties fear that they will not keep intelligence secrets.

However, the fact is that whether you like the Greens or not, they received more than two million votes in the general election last March.

So they are a valid Opposition group and have the same rights and obligations as the largest Opposition party, the SPD.

The decision by the coalition, comprising the CDU, the CSU and the FDP, to keep the Greens out might well be justified arithmetically. But it leaves a bad taste.

Up to now, a sub-committee of the Budget Committee watched over the secret service budget. This committee could have had a Green member under the existing provisions.

But new a special panel of five has been set up instead.

The concern of the major parties is not quite unfounded because the Greens have always called for total transparence in government affairs.

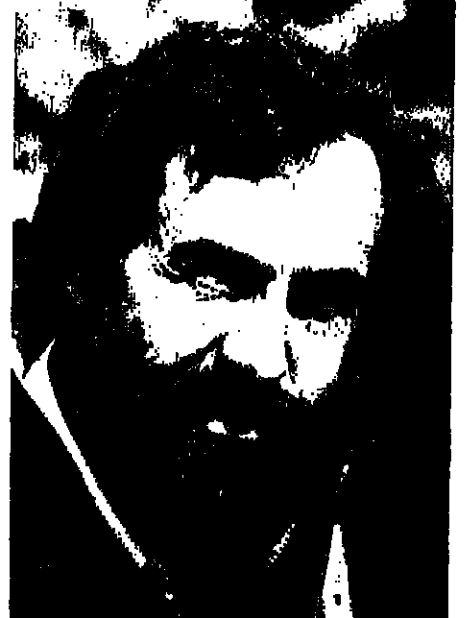
On the other hand, the Greens undertook to abide by the secrecy required of the watchdog committee. Green MP Otto Schily has repeatedly said so in the Bundestag.

It is immaterial whether one believes this or not. The fact is that a Green watchdog who leaked secrets could face criminal charges.

It is time for the Constitutional Court to rule on what has happened.

Reinhold Michels

(Rheinische Post, 24 February 1984)



Karl Kerschgens . . . theologian turned politician. (Photo: Sven Simon)

The man behind Greens' deal with Hesse SPD

When the Greens decided to cooperate with the governing SPD of Holger Börner in Hesse, much of the credit for the decision belonged to Karl Kerschgens.

Kerschgens, 44, a Green Member of Parliament in the Hesse Assembly, delivered a 49-minute speech at a meeting of the party in Usingen. The result was a three-fifths majority in favour of cooperation.

Since then, he has become known as the Victor of Usingen. It was a lesson in *realpolitik*.

Kerschgens is also seen as the spiritual father of the Petersberg resolution in which the Greens decided, shortly after the state election last October, to negotiate with the SPD.

His speeches in the State Assembly, his negotiating performance and his TV appearances have earned him recognition. He is businesslike and avoids the feverishness which many people find annoying about many Greens.

He is known as a man who sticks to agreements. He is also a clever tactician at winning majorities at state congresses of the Greens.

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* recently described Kerschgens as "Börner's favourite Green", the man whom the caretaker prime minister consults on ticklish issues.

In public negotiations, Börner usually tries to catch Kerschgens's eye for confirmation.

It has often been said in SPD circles that Kerschgens could just as well have been a Social Democrat. But this is probably wrong.

Kerschgens himself says that "even in the best years of the SPD — like 1969 — I could not decide to join that party."

He studied theology and was for three years a chaplain in Aachen.

But he quit due to "the intolerance of the Catholic Church" and studied romance languages instead.

Later, he trained as a vocational counsellor and eventually joined citizens' action groups.

Unlike the Greens who came from the SPD or from Communist circles, Kerschgens is seen as a "genuine Green".

He disagrees with the SPD on fundamental issues because regards the Social Democrats' attitude towards the environment as that of exploiters with only the old answers to new problems.

But as a realist he also knows how to figure and balance the Greens' 5.9 per cent of the popular vote against the SPD's 46.2 per cent.

It is unlikely that the Greens under Kerschgens will ever become pliant junior partners of the SPD.

The deals that have so far been made with the Social Democrats — meagre though they might seem in the eyes of Green dissenters — are seen by Kerschgens as no more than a beginning.

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 16 February 1984)

■ GERMANY

Herstatt case shows how white-collar crime can bog down the legal process

Iwan D. Herstatt, whose Cologne bank crashed 10 years ago in the most expensive bank fold-up in post-war Germany, has been sentenced to four and a half years in prison. A Cologne court found him guilty of embezzlement and bankruptcy with fraudulent intent in three cases. The bank folded with debts of DM1.2bn.

Laws designed to combat white-collar crime have often had feeble results.

In effect the criminal courts still operate on the basis of conventional offences such as embezzlement and fraud, and sections of the criminal code that deal with them are often a matter of fairly trivial offences.

When the public prosecutor's office unearths a case that deserves to be called white-collar crime, it seems to spend years investigating, years holding court proceedings and years taking appeals from one court to another.

Often the accused, especially if they are older men, delay court proceedings by submitting medical certificates of unfitness to stand trial.

Some years ago there was a lengthy trial of a well-known business executive who showed court reporters a medical certificate before the case began.

If it went badly for him, he said, he wouldn't hesitate to use the certificate.

The Herstatt trial in Cologne is a textbook example of what heavy weather the criminal courts make of white-collar crime.

Ex-banker Iwan D. Herstatt has only just been sentenced even though his bank folded in spectacular circumstances 10 years ago.

The case nearly became a judicial scandal. The prosecution initially planned to take him to court for the full amount, over DM1bn, then realised that in view of costs it would have to limit itself to charges of embezzlement totalling DM6m.

Six years elapsed before the case was heard. The court, which was pushed for time, was worried it might be beaten to the mark by the statute of limitations.

The statute has applied in cases of embezzlement 10 years after the offence since the 1975 criminal code reform.

If an offender isn't sentenced within 10 years of the offence, that's it. The case is shelved for good.

The statute of limitations, as Social Democratic legal expert Adolf Arndt put it, was introduced to protect the public from delayed justice that forfeited all credibility.

It was well-meant, but legislators failed to appreciate how complicated white-collar cases could be.

The first sentences in the Herstatt hearings were passed in September 1983. By then the court had waded through 67,000 foreign exchange transactions, many of which were based on cooked books.

Other difficulties unpredictably occurred. It took the court months to find an expert on balance-sheet accounting of foreign exchange futures dealings after the initial expert had been ruled out on grounds of bias.

Against this background it is easier to appreciate the earnest with which Judge Alois Weiss dealt with the resumption of proceedings against Herstatt himself.

It was unusual for a court to find that the case could go ahead in the absence of the accused because he had deliberately ruined his health with the aim of stalling the proceedings until the statute of limitations applied.

An even more unusual development was the presiding judge's decision to confiscate Herstatt's medical records and hand them over to another expert witness.

The second opinion was that the ex-banker *was* fit to stand trial, at least to some extent.

This ruling was important because a regular trial presupposes that the accused is in the dock, which is surely a right to which any accused party is entitled.

Some do seem to have very little difficulty in coming by a certificate of unfitness to stand trial, and that must not lead to them evading sentence.

Criminal courts are tending to be more exacting in respect of medical certificates than they once were. The accused, Judge Weiss said, must run the normal risk of proceedings.

The mere possibility that they might die during a hearing does not entitle a court to postpone proceedings for criminal offences.



Iwan D. Herstatt . . . waited for 10 years to go to jail. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Judges have seen too many cases in which a defendant who has been declared to be at death's door and thereby avoided prosecution has had a dramatic recovery and gone back to business as usual.

That was certainly the case with Iwan D. Herstatt. He may be a sick 70-year old but he is not entitled to too much sympathy if he soon does indeed have to serve his prison term.

But unfitness to stand trial is only one loophole. Another is unfitness to serve a sentence. Maybe Herstatt will avoid going to jail in this way.

That would at least be tolerable now that justice has at long last been seen to be done.

Werner Birkenmaier

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 22 February 1984)

Parliamentary commissions of inquiry: good platforms for flurries

Let no-one say Bundestag commissions of inquiry are not worth the perspiration their members devote to their task.

Isn't the Flick Commission proving at every VIP interview how closely interlinked business and politics are?

Hasn't Count Lambsdorff, the Economic Affairs Minister, admitted that political parties don't always act in strict accordance with legal requirements where finances are concerned?

Isn't now public knowledge that leading politicians have no compunction in pocketing cash in a pretty disgraceful manner?

Haven't they been shown to stuff evenlopes full of banknotes into their dinner jacket pockets?

Hasn't the commission of inquiry into the Kiessling affair shown that the MAD, or military counter-espionage agency, is a pack of high-handed and incompetent jokers?

There findings may have been striking, but there are still grounds for dissatisfaction. The Kiessling Commission isn't dealing with the right issues; the Flick Commission isn't likely to achieve the right purpose.

The Kiessling Commission was set up at a time when Defence Minister Wörner was still stubbornly trying to prove General Kiessling had been rightly dismissed.

He and the general have since settled matters, so why bother with General Kiessling when it has long been clear that there is no such thing as a Kiessling Affair?

What is at issue is no longer the dispute between the Defence Minister and the four-star general but the MAD, which has been a political embarrassment on more than one occasion.

But to look into this unsatisfactory state of affairs would be to dispense with the political capital that can be made out of the Kiessling Affair.

There is no risk of political capital being made in connection with the Flick Commission. It has already been made.

Why not indeed? Party-political interests have either been instrumental in setting up, or have arisen in connection with, all 23 commissions the Bundestag has set up over the years.

The motives of commission members may be irreproachable, as in the Flick case, in which Heilbronn Social Democratic MP Dieter Spöri's motives are doubtless entirely blameless.

Yet although they may be keen to ensure that parliamentary activities are as pure as the driven snow, they can hardly fail to engage in a slanging match and wash the Bundestag's dirty linen in public.

The list of dubious activities in connection with the work of the Flick Commission is a long one.

It is disgraceful, for instance, that members of the commission have taken to issuing statements to the Press tearing submissions apart in a polemical manner virtually as soon as evidence has been given.

Impressions are created and prejudice is fostered by this kind of behaviour.

Clearly fundamental shortcomings of the Flick Commission are more alarming still. One is that the commission's work is being conducted alongside the investigations of the public prosecutor.

The public prosecutor's office and the court are only prepared to hand over information, files and evidence that are not felt to be crucial to the prosecution's case in the court proceedings.

The witnesses who, to use the time-honoured phrase, are helping the police with their enquiries, are not going to divulge the case they have built up in their defence. So they refuse to answer questions posed by the commission.

The commission's hearings are not held in camera, and the audience inclu-

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des staff of the public prosecutor's office poised to note any submissions that might be used in court.

This is surely an unsatisfactory state of affairs, as is the fact that commission members include MPs who for years have waged a political compaign against tax concessions to Flick.

They are bound to be tempted to collect material backing up their suspicions, assertions and points on which they feel sure of themselves.

The Flick Commission is merely repeating the shortcomings of earlier parliamentary commissions of inquiry, as they are grave shortcomings.

Since 1949 commissions have gone about their business without procedural rules and in a manner arguably best described as freestyle.

Many observers have long abandoned hopes of the make-up of commissions being either thoroughly reformed or amended, say as bodies of independent judges appointed by the Bundestag, as modelled along lines already practised in Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria.

But if the political parties are incapable of obeying the dictates of common sense and responsibility then surely they might bow to expediency.

Given that the conditions in which parliamentary commissions operate are unsatisfactory, might the parties not try to be more persuasive by helping to clarify matters in an objective manner?

In the Flick Commission's case much could be gained by a more objective and level-headed approach, although the original purpose of the commission can no longer be accomplished.

But maybe it is asking too much of political parties to expect them to abandon voluntarily a forum so ideally suited for polemics even though all it achieves in many cases is merely a flurry of mutual recriminations.

Eduard Neumaier

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 22 February 1984)

■ THE WELFARE STATE

Does it matter who is elected? A political scientist weighs left against right

Does it make much difference whether Social Democrats or conservative parties win at the polls? Do governments today merely administer policies with a leeway reduced by economic constraints to a bare minimum?

Given the complex inter-relationship between economics, politics and society in advanced industrialised countries the answers to such questions may be considered to be a matter of personal belief.

Yet sociologists have posed them with increasing frequently in recent years. They have often couched them in terms intended to suggest undisputable authority but merely stated viewpoints and ideologies, thereby bringing sociology into disrepute.

There have, however, been serious and important attempts to supply authoritative answers. One is the book here discussed.

Political scientist Manfred G. Schmidt set himself the task of comparing the policies pursued by conservative and Social Democratic governments in 21 Western countries with democratic systems of government over the past few decades.

In keeping with US research practice he has compiled data on the growth of the public sector of the economy, on the tax burden, on improvements in social security and on unemployment and inflation trends in the countries considered.

He also notes when Social Democratic and Conservative governments were in office in the various countries and to what extent their leeway was reduced by a coalition partner, a powerful Opposition or extra-parliamentary considerations.

The balance of power and what policies actually achieve can thus be compared, albeit not unconditionally. A wide range of additional factors affect the situation.

But what about the conclusions Schmidt reaches? His least surprising finding is arguably in connection with the development of public-sector spending as a percentage of GNP.

The machinery of government tends toward above-average growth wherever Social Democracy predominates for any length of time or there is a stalemate between left-wingers and conservatives.

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Schmidt relativises this finding inasmuch as a great many other influences affect the extent of government activity. In the Federal Republic, for instance, they include the fact that Germany is heavily dependent on foreign trade.

This "openness toward world markets" calls for "comprehensive government aid and compensation for domestic processes of economic adjustment necessitated by external factors."It too plays its part in inflating the machinery of government.

In the distribution of tax burdens Schmidt notes that Social Democratic governments both in Germany and elsewhere have been guilty of disregarding their party programmes.

Indirect taxation has been increased more than direct taxes by SPD-led Bonn governments and by their counterparts in Denmark, Norway, Sweden and, up to a point, Austria.

And indirect taxes are well known to hit the weaker sectors of society harder than the well-to-do.

But increases in value-added, oil or liquor taxes are evidently less controversial politically than increases in income tax.

Schmidt has a simple and convincing explanation why "the enormously powerful growth in taxation and social security contributions" has been so easy to bring about in nearly all Western countries since the Second World War.

The growth in taxation and public spending has, he argues, only been possible, especially in Social Democrat-run countries, by means of a system of financing it with which Social Democrats could hardly be in agreement in principle.

The haves have been required to contribute toward the extra expense but the lion's share of the burden has been shouldered by those who might be expected to vote Social Democrat.

Burden-sharing has also had to be arranged in a manner in keeping with "market economy and performance criteria."

Growth of the welfare state

Social security costs as percentage of national product

	1960	1981
Belgium	17.0	38.0
Holland	16.3	36.1
Sweden	14.5	33.5
Germany	20.5	31.5
Italy	16.5	29.1
Denmark	10.2	29.0
Austria	17.9	27.9
Britain	13.9	24.9
France	13.4	23.8
USA	10.9	21.0
Japan	8.0	17.5
Switzerland	7.7	14.9

Source. OECD

Renate Merklein says state welfare policies are largely financed by the ordinary taxpayer by taking money out of one pocket to put it in the other.

Manfred Schmidt, whose political viewpoint is probably poles apart from hers, certainly seems to agree with her on this point.

As for the extent, coverage and quality of welfare services, Schmidt says Social Democrat-run countries rate highly, and certainly much better than countries with Conservative governments.

But, he adds, "more welfare state does not necessarily means more welfare for all more or less disadvantaged social groups."

In all countries covered, welfare policy is geared mainly to male bread-winners, with women tending to come off second-best.

The most surprising conclusion he reaches is that governments led by or including Social Democrats, although they may not have been more successful than Conservative-led governments in fighting unemployment, have had a better track record in dealing with inflation.

Yet Schmidt feels he can prove there are ways of reducing unemployment by means of state intervention.

At least in the mid-1970s "the most comprehensive labour market policies in terms of both quantity and quality were undertaken in countries with low unemployment during the recession."

They were Austria, Norway and Sweden, all countries with longstanding Social Democratic governments, and, with conservative governments, New Zealand, Luxembourg, Japan and Iceland.

Switzerland played a somewhat reprehensible special role inasmuch as its successes in labour market policy were due mainly to having deported foreign workers and exported unemployment.

The others, in contrast, used a combination of measures variously weighted to reduce, if not end, the "automatic link between economic crisis and employment crisis."

They included hoarding of manpower by the private sector of the economy, anti-cyclical regulation of demand, deliberate support of individual industries and subsidies toward wage costs, manufacturing for stockpiling and extra public service jobs.

Other moves have been retraining, shorter working hours and lives, early retirement and more efficient labour exchanges.

Schmidt is honest enough to admit that strong government intervention in labour market policy at times of crisis can be economically disastrous.

The problem is that government moves designed to ensure full employment run the risk of perpetuating outmoded structures and, in the long term, undermining a country's competitive position in world markets.

No-one, he says, can rule out the possibility of the countries he deals with that have had low unemployment in the past heading in this direction in future.

He marshals impressive figures to underpin the relative success of Social Democratic-run countries in containing inflation.

In Germany, Austria, Norway and Sweden inflation may have increased in the 1970s, but in international terms it was still lower than in most countries with conservative governments.

Schmidt feels this may not necessarily have been due to particularly astute government policies. The connection, he argues, is more complicated.

When Social Democrats are in power (or share it), there is a greater likelihood of the extra-parliamentary balance of power between organised labour and management making curbs on inflation possible.

A distribution of power that makes it essential to actively include left-wingers in political decision-making processes increases the scope for political regulation of the economy.

Schmidt's findings clash with the view that unemployment canonly be reduced or eliminated at the expense of higher inflation.

This is a viewpoint, the modified Philips curve, that is still very much in favour with economists.

At the same time Schmidt upends the contrary viewpoint to this economic truism, the view taken by Milton Friedman.

Friedman's view is that unemployment and inflation chase each other the more the state intervenes in economic processes and competition.

Schmidt's findings on inflation are not only borne out by statistics. They are also lent support by the fact that when times are hard powerful trade unions are best able to persuade members to be disciplined and exercise wage restraint.

They should certainly succeed in doing so for as long as a government with which they have links can credibly claim to be containing and alleviating the consequences of economic crisis by fighting unemployment and providing social safeguards.

Which party holds power is much less important for economic, financial and social policy trends than is generally assumed.

Manfred G. Schmidt, *Wohlfahrtsstaatliche Politik unter bürgerlichen und sozialdemokratischen Regierungen. Ein internationaler Vergleich* (Welfare State Policies under Conservative and Social Democratic Rule. An International Comparison), Campus Verlag, Frankfurt, 258pp, DM54.

The factors that really matter, or so Schmidt says, are "the structure of relations between paid labour and capital, conflict settlement patterns, the strength of the trade unions and the extent to which the government tends to adopt corporate state policies."

Taken as a whole, Schmidt's views are anything but convenient for Social Democrats, Conservatives or Liberals.

That is why questions are likely to be asked whether such a large-scale comparative survey is not bound to entail too many imponderables and uncertainties to be accepted at face value.

National statistics are not strictly comparable. Difficult problems arise in connection with additional factors that must be taken into account as influencing political developments.

As they cannot all be borne in mind within the scope of Schmidt's survey, do his findings in fact measure up to scientific criteria?

To judge by the way he arranges the book he must have been constantly aware of this question. From start to finish he clearly shows that doubts are on his mind.

That is why he takes great care to explain each step as he takes it in order to allow his readers to follow him and check his progress and findings.

Stephan Russ-Mohl

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 10 February 1984)

■ LABOUR

No compromise at the bargaining table

Yet another round of collective bargaining in the metal industry has been postponed without a compromise in sight.

What matters at this point is not so much the outcome of labour-management talks as the way in which the parties to collective bargaining are talking at cross purposes.

It is unusual that neither side is showing any give — especially at the start of a recovery phase.

This is probably due to a stiffening of the labour-management front which seems curiously odd at a time when the nation has to cope with 2.5 million jobless and perhaps an extra million who don't show up in statistics.

It is hard to shed the impression that the parties concerned are not after a deal but want to fight it out on the ideological front.

The losers would be the workers. Considering that the scope for extra pay is a minimum of 3.5 per cent, all the hullabaloo over the 35-hour week and early retirement is ridiculous.

Three per cent would permit a shortening of the work week by one hour at best. Agreement on this could be reached in a two-hour session, including the coffee break.

But with neither party having given an inch, it is time to look into their true aims.

A few years ago, the employers prepared a list of non-negotiable issues, among them the 35-hour week.

But even the most dyed-in-the-wool entrepreneur must admit that the world and Germany have changed since then.

Many industries have made deals on shorter working times, job sharing and new ways of distributing work. Rigid old rules are being dropped.

Still, the employers refuse to budge, as if the vaunted entrepreneurial boldness and innovativeness did not apply here.

The metalworkers union, IG Metall, has manoeuvred itself into a corner, and it will take some courage to extricate itself. The union would have to admit that it was ill advised when it made the 35-hour week its only and fun damental demand.

Naturally, anybody would like shorter working hours. But there simply isn't enough money to pay the same wages for less work.

What about those workers who take home DM1,000 or less? And there are quite a few of them? What they want is not a shorter work week but more money. And the extra money would help boost consumption.

The unions should realise this since their main task is to fight for the low earners.

The logical conclusion is therefore that the unions are more interested in image building than in guarding workers' interests.

Thus both parties to collective bargaining suffer from the same malady. The question is, who is to play doctor?

The call for an unbiased arbitrator has been growing louder behind the scenes.

It seems obvious that the parties to the feud don't want to arrive at an agreement for which nobody wants to be responsible. They would rather have someone else shoulder the responsibility.

This is, of course, human nature; but the autonomy of collective bargaining means that both sides have to stand by their actions and justify the outcome to their own ranks.

If they cannot summon the courage to do so they can no longer be autonomous.

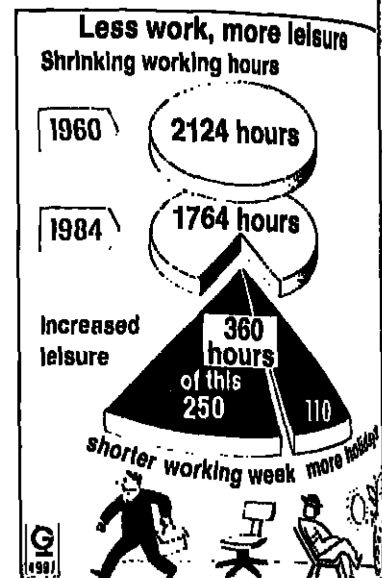
There is must at stake and the course charted now could govern our lives until the end of the decade. By then, the pressure on the job market could well ease because of the demographic effect of the low birth rate years.

But until then it is up to the Bonn government to create at least one million new jobs.

This can only be done if both parties to collective bargaining know what their medium term aims are.

What is so grotesque about the current round of bargaining is that both labour and management know how little scope there is for giving and taking.

Negligible though this quantity is, they act as if the survival of the na[...] were at stake.



These image building neuroses in [...] of the world's richest countries is [...] thing new. But the depressing thing [...] that many of those in the limelight se[...] to confuse their own problems with [...]lity.

All that matters in this round of [...]gaining is to arrive at a sensible outc[ome] that would provide the basis for sev[eral] years of a joint effort to create new [...] and training places.

The task cannot be done by sticking [...] preconceived notions or by pointing [...] list of non-negotiable issues. Unrealis[tic] demands are also no help.

The right approach would be to su[m]mon the courage to arrive at medi[um] term decisions.

The job ahead is reminiscent of t[he] early 1950s. Then, too, there was a ne[ed] for new jobs. Work had to be found [for] ten million displaced persons and the[re] were tens of thousands of GDR refug[ees] looking for work every years.

A long term compromise made it pos[]sible to tackle and master the task.

Admittedly, the "new beginning" mood of the 1950s is missing. But [...] people still have needs — among them clean environment, better old age [...] medical care, energy saving, etc. — which can only be satisfied throu[gh] growth and new jobs.

To achieve this, ideology has to ta[ke] second place.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 19 February 19[84])

The girls show the boys how

Girls are every bit as good as boys in male trades, says a nation-wide Bonn Education Ministry pilot scheme to open up technical trades for girls.

The four-year project included 1,200 girls in 200 firms. It showed that they did as well as the boys.

Ninety-nine per cent of the girls passed their journeyman's examinations. Their practical work was as good as their theory.

dpa

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 21 February 1984)

Move to legalise private employment agencies

The CDU national executive wants private employment agencies to be allowed. It has thereby adopted a suggestion made by the CSU leader, Franz Josef Strauss, a few months ago.

At the moment, private agencies are allowed only to handle temporary j[obs]. This latest idea would end the monop[oly] of the Federal Labour Office.

Young people out of work
Unemployment rate among under 24s
1983 in %

Country	%
Spain	40
Italy	33
Britain	23
France	21
Canada	20
USA	17
Germany	12
Sweden	9
Jap.	6

Source: OECD

The Minister of Labour, Nor[bert] Blüm, does not like the idea. He say[s it] would mean a "Balkanisation of [job] broking."

Monopolies are rarely good for the consumer. Much tends to get lost in [a] huge administrative machinery that [is] seldom flexible.

Job broking was made a state mono[]poly when it became obvious that un[]scrupulous employment agencies we[re] cheating job seekers.

But that was a long time ago. M[uch] will be gained if the CDU decision [at] least helps to shake off the lethargy [on] the issue.

The ultimate aim would be to impr[ove] job broking in close cooperation w[ith] the Labour Office.

A bit more competition where [it] counts would make sense.

Friedhelm Fiedler

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 21 February 1984)

■ PEOPLE IN FINANCE

The real reason why a top bank executive had to leave

Manfred Meier-Preschany, 55, has retired from the management board of Dresdner Bank. The announcement spoke of an "amicable understanding".

This is one of those cases where the reasons are being glossed over. Usually the gloss is an attempt to hide bad mistakes, lack of ability or personal incompatibility.

Refusal to give details only increases the speculation. But in this case, insiders have little doubt that it is a matter of personality. The work record of M. P., as he is called, is good. But gives the impression of putting his own interest first.

He is to ask the supervisory board to relieve him of his duties as a member of the management board "so he can devote himself to other pursuits".

Both parties have agreed to make no further statement.

Meier-Preschany has been on the board of Germany's second largest bank since 1971 and he seems to have realised that there was almost no chance that he would succeed Hans Friderichs if the latter were forced to leave the bank over the Flick affair.

Insiders are certain that it is not managerial incompetence that bars his way to the top post. His qualifications are undisputed, both among his Dresdner Bank colleagues and in the banking world.

It is most unlikely that he will be blamed for the Dresdner Bank group's risky involvements in Latin America.

Nor can any failure be put in the lap of the man who masterminded the AEG bail-out operation by a consortium of banks headed by Friderichs — even though Friderichs occasionally complained that his fellow board member was abroad while AEG was struggling for survival.

Successful

M.P. has been successful. But his ambition has given the impression that he puts his own interests first.

He was not interested in what others thought about him. He actually seemed to seek confrontation — even on the Dresdner Bank board.

In the end, this extroversion disqualified him for the top post on a panel whose head is expected to have an integrating effect. This is particularly so in view of the fact that Dresdner Bank is still smarting from old wounds.

In the 1960s, the bank was trying hard to catch up with Deutsche Bank. The price it had to pay was steep.

Dresdner Bank's balance sheet improved 926 per cent between 1960 and 1979 compared with 780 per cent for Deutsche Bank during the same period.

But the deals to which the bank owed its success — especially while headed by Jürgen Ponto, who was assassinated in 1977 — were not always sound.

Ponto managed to polish up the bank's image and to rid it of the reputation of being a "broker's bank" (owing to the fact that many of its top men were former stockbrokers who brought the rough and tumble of the securities business with them).

DIE WELT

A highly educated man with many artistic interests, he gave the bank a new aura. The international banking community regarded him as another Abs.

But it turned out that he was not as firmly in control as Abs, the grand old man of Deutsche Bank, when it came to details.

He and his supervisory board also lacked Deutsche Bank's finesse in appointing the right people for the the right job. And it is this that has always given Deutsche Bank an edge over its competitors.

It is thus no coincidence that several heads have rolled at Dresdner Bank in the past few years.

Foreign exchange dealer Hans-Joachim Schreiber had to resign from the board in 1981 because of the bank's huge losses in gold deals, for which he was held responsible.

The previous year had seen the resignation of Professor Karl Friedrich Hagenmüller who was in charge of organisation, auditing, personnel and construction. He was seen as one of the most powerful men in the bank.

He was not made to resign because of his excessively conservative business policy in the Friderichs era (who assumed his post in 1978) but because he was at loggerheads with Friderichs and the other board members.

The conflict was programmed because Hagenmüller, who had hoped to succeed Ponto, was too firmly in control. This was out of keeping with the new management style introduced by the former politician Friderichs. What Friderichs wanted was clear decision making processes and areas of responsibility. Some blame Friderichs for Dresdner Bank's relatively poor performance since he took over.

But he assumed his post at the tail end of the long growth phase. He was faced with the thankless task of consolidating and putting the bank back on its feet.

Dresdner Bank had to opt out of its race against Deutsche Bank and come to terms with being number two.

What mattered was to pick up the pieces resulting from losses from equity participations, the AEG loans, the credits to Poland, Latin America and the steel industry and other corporate lending.



Manfred Meier-Preschany . . . extrovert. (Photo: dpa)

The worst, but not all of it, has now been overcome. But the bank is still unable to pay its former DM9 dividend. It will also remain the subject of rumours until Friderichs's involvement in the Flick affair has been cleared one way or another.

It is therefore understandable that the resignation of Meier-Preschany has created new unrest. But in the end this will calm the situation.

M. P. has been an explosive element on a board that should project unity.

Claus Dertinger

(Die Welt, 15 February 1984)

The lady who was the only man in the office

Inge Lore Bähre, president of the Federal Bank Supervision Authority, is to resign at the end of April.

She has been with the authority for 33 years, the last nine as president.

She has been wanting to resign for some time to spend more time on researching her family background.

But first, the former Finance Minister, Hans Matthöfer, and then the present Minister, Gerhard Stoltenberg, persuaded her to stay.

They wanted her to remain at least until preparations for amendments to banking legislation had been completed.

Cabinet agreed on the changes on 1 February, and a few days later, Frau Bähre resigned.

Retirement somehow does not go with Inge Lore Bähre. Her friends know that what she needs and likes is creative unrest.

She has always had a keen nose for what is wrong in banking and never hesitated to let the top men know where she stood.

Her letters to bankers eventually became celebrated instruments of the authority. They were discussed with smug satisfaction or with rage, depending on the situation. But they were always taken seriously.

What she wanted was not to have to put up ever new road signs. She wanted to warn of dangers and admonish bankers to drive cautiously. Bankers should take responsibility into their own hands.

Frau Bähre in an interview: "I've tried to make the banks do what's necessary of their own accord so that I could manage with a minimum of official guidelines."

Inge Lore Bähre . . . creative unrest. (Photo: Sven Simon)

She said, as I pulled my pencil out: "I hope you're not planning to write an obituary!"

Bähre has given her office more publicity than her two predecessors, Heinz Kalkstein (1962-1968) and Günter Dürre (1968-1975).

This is primarily because she is a woman with the reputation of being the only man in the office.

The label is somewhat unkind to the Authority's many men whose hard work has earned it general respect. But they have all benefited from the public upgrading of the Authority.

Events have also put the Authority and its head in the limelight more than before.

Bähre became president in 1975, shortly before the Banking Act was amended to adapt it to changed conditions. The 1976 amendment became necessary after the collapse of the Herstatt Bank.

The latest amendment is due to the galloping development of the banks' foreign business. The aim is to adapt the Bank Supervision Authority's operations to the changed risk positions of the banks and to work towards higher liquidity and more widely spread risks.

Bähre had to ensure her Authority's effectiveness even before being given the help of new laws.

At that time, the banks did not have to report on the credit business of their foreign subsidiaries.

This enabled them to build up huge credit pyramids based on the parent bank's capital. up to 75 per cent of a bank's liquid cash could be lent to a single customer.

Since she was not backed by legislation, Bähre had to persuade banks to enter gentlemen's agreements.

Many a banker turns puce on hearing the name Bähre. But this has never bothered her.

Since she does not depend on the approval of associations and their members she has been able to stand up in public and get her point across and has never made concessions for the sake of being polite.

She has played a major part in drafting the latest bill and has made some enemies, especially among savings banks whose ideas on the ratio of capital and lending she rejected.

So no obituary. More a portrait. After all, Inge Lore Bähre will remain in office until the end of April.

Rudolf Herlt

(Die Zeit, 17 February 1984)



■ THE ECONOMY

Stoltenberg central figure in the changing policies of a nation

Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg is the fulcrum of the government's economic and social changes promised in Chancellor Kohl's State of the Nation message.

Without him, there would be little chance of bringing about the *Wende*, the change, which has become something of a cliche.

Wende means removing some of the welfare state cushion and making business and the public take the initiative.

The State's role is to guide this difficult operation. It must find a balance. It must provide social assistance without handing out cash to those who don't need it.

It also has to avoid excessive subsidies to industries that would otherwise die.

Stoltenberg has tackled the job energetically, although he has been less effective with subsidies than with cutting back on social welfare spending.

Economic recovery has boosted tax revenues beyond expectations.

So there was naturally much self-satisfaction when he was able to announce that the government would have to borrow DM10bn less that planned.

Stoltenberg is likely to have thought of Fritz Schäffer, his predecessor in the 1950s.

Schäffer used the ample tax revenues of the time to build up huge reserves. There was, in fact, no way of spending all the money that kept coming in.

His idea was to put it aside to use to build up the Bundeswehr, a process that would cost billions.

But he did not reckon with Parliament. The longer the money was sitting idly in the coffers, the greedier MPs became. They did not rest until every penny had been used as campaign gifts.

Since MPs want to be popular they hand out money. Ultimately, they equate spending money with taking political action.

This is the very attitude that threatens the new economic course.

The about turn includes not only cutbacks in spending and less borrowing but, at the right moment, income tax will be cut markedly.

Nobody doubts that tax cutbacks that would benefit primarily small and medium earners would promote initiative.

But if the cutbacks are introduced so early that they can be financed only by more borrowing the whole thing would be merely a flash in the pan.

President Reagan's policy should serve as a warning. German interest payments on public debts would grow as they are doing in America.

With President Reagan's deficit in mind, Stoltenberg would like to postpone the tax reforms until the next legislative period and thus put his budget on a sound footing.

This would also provide enough time to weed out unnecessary subsidies, and tax revenues would grow along with the GNP. So the minister has kept out of the tax reform debate.

But coalition MPs have seized upon the issue. Policy makers in the economic and family affairs fields saw their chance when Stoltenberg presented his unexpectedly favourable interim balance sheet.

They remembered the promise in the State of the Nation Message that families with children would receive special tax breaks.

The amounts mentioned in the MPs' proposals would add up to billions. This would open up new holes in the budget that would have to be plugged with additional borrowing.

The social romantics in the coalition camp must be stopped in case the necessary income tax reform falls prey to their ambitious schemes.

Gerhard Stoltenberg will soon have to come up with a binding financial framework. Failing to do so would encourage rather than check the false prophets.

Schäffer's treasure trove should make him think.

Rudolf Herlt

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 17 February 1984)

Fortunes of Industry

Production changes (%): 1979 +5; 80 ±0; 81 −2; 82 −3; 83 +1; 1984 +3 (Ifo estimate)

Production increase in 1984 compared with 1983 in %. Estimated by Ifo.

Industry	%
Office, data	+10
Plastics processing	+5
Chemicals	+5
Cars	+4
Iron, steel products	+4
Furniture	+3
Machinery	+2 bis +3
Electrical products	+2 bis +3
Textiles	+2
Clothing	±0
Light metal crafts	−5

Constitutional sword hangs over surtax plan for high incomes

A compulsory loan by higher earners to the government is legally shaky but it must still be paid pending a Constitutional Court decision.

This ruling has been made by the *Bundesfinanzhof*, the country's highest tax tribunal. The judges said payments must be made until a decision is reached.

The loan money, a 5 per cent surcharge on income tax, is to be repaid from 1990. It is part of the government's financial strategy.

However, people have been withholding payment until a ruling on its constitutional legality is made, probably in September.

The tax tribunal judges had two options:

- confirm that the surtax is legal
- rule that it is illegal.

The latter would have thrown a spanner in the government's economic plans. As it is, they decided to compromise.

It is obvious that the judges did not want to interfere in the province of the Constitutional Court, which is likely to present its ruling in September. They have already voiced their doubts in the constitutionality of the legislation.

One of the questions they had to deal with was whether the Act violated the principle of equality by allowing businessmen and the self-employed to get out of paying the tax by investing the money instead. This loophole is unavailable to the employed.

The court and some state tax departments also had reservations about Bonn's authority to impose the compulsory loan, which is not a tax in the conventional sense.

There are thus plenty of reasons to make Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg look forward to the Constitutional Court ruling with some trepidation. The justices have nullified many a law in the past.

Bonn deserves to be taken down a peg or two because the levy that came about through a compromise is nothing but a tax envisaged earlier by the SPD under a different name.

At that time, the CDU/CSU in the Bundestag opposed the SPD's motion.

The only difference is that the SPD wanted the surtax to be non-repayable while the conservatives promised to start repaying in 1990.

Bonn would be well advised not to see the *Bundesfinanzhof* ruling as a confirmation of its policy but as an incentive to honour campaign promises of a tax reform that would reward performance.

Bodo Schulte

(Nordwest Zeitung, 18 February 1984)

Extra earnings taxed more than ever before

Never before has the German worker's pay been hit so hard by the State as in 1983, according to the Ifo Economic Research Institute in Munich.

A total of 9.4 billion marks was earned in extra pay such as overtime last year but only 400 million marks actually went into pay packets.

Tax, church tax and a surtax for higher earners took 6 billion marks and social security took another 3 billion.

Ifo says the government took 96 per cent of extra money earned last year compared with 83 per cent in 1982. Worst hit were singly people and families with working wives.

Not surprisingly, Ifo says the tax system discourages performance and initiative.

In addition, 57.2 per cent of pay increases in 1983 taken by the State compared with 56.9 per cent in 1982. That is a record.

Tax eats up extra earnings

Monthly Income	Tax in pfennigs on each mark of extra earnings: Single person	Married person, no children
2000 DM	22	18
2500 DM	31	22
3000 DM	36	22
3500 DM	42	22
4000 DM	47	24
5000 DM	49	31
7500 DM	53	44
10000 DM	56	50

Of every extra mark earned, the State collected 31.3 pfennigs in taxes; social security took 21.4 pfennigs and another 4.5 pfennigs went into church and other taxes.

The difference between the extremely high tax in overall economic terms and the high per capita loss is due to employment trends.

Last year's employment figure was 430,000 lower than in the previous year, accounted for primarily by the lower income brackets.

As low earners lost their jobs, those with a high pay found themselves in the upper tax brackets, making for a greater tax payments in overall economic terms.

Fears at the beginning of 1983 that taxes would rise considerably were not only confirmed but exceeded, says Ifo.

The already high tax revenue estimates for the year proved too low. Of every DM 1bn in extra pay, DM... went to the State.

Though Ifo expects the ratio to change this year, the tax bite will still be intolerably high.

Added pay this year is estimated at DM31.9bn, 3.5 times that of last year. Only DM15.5bn will find its way into the pay packet — less than half the actual earnings.

Between 1960 and 1981, the tax bite was always below 50 per cent of extra earnings. But since 1981 the figure has consistently been above the 50 per cent mark.

There will be no change this year. The surtax, which was first charged last year, put a one-sided burden on the higher earners.

This year's burden will go down marginally to 52 pfennigs out of the mark, primarily due to income tax which will be down to "only" 28 per cent of extra pay.

dpa

(Bremer Nachrichten, 17 February 1984)

■ CARTOGRAPHY

Laser, infra-red rays take over from the theodolite

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Surveying has been revolutionised by satellites, electronics and computers, just as geodesy has revolutionised the location of exact positions and areas of the earth's surface.

The surveyor's theodolite has largely been replaced by electronics. The network of triangulation points may one day be replaced by satellite positioning.

Robot theodolites are well on their way to taking the next step toward automating target tracking of mobile measuring points.

A complete survey is carried out by determining the geograhical coordinates of fixed points in the triangulation network in degrees, minutes and seconds.

The area is then surveyed in detail, marking in salient objects such as buildings, cliffs, roads and woodland.

The fixed points are surveyed by taking angles from two known measuring points. The lines form the triangle from which the term triangulation is derived.

The surroundings of the fixed point are measured by taking readings from it. An assistant holds the striped surveyor's pole in position and the surveyor makes a note of direction and distance.

Notes are evaluated back in the office, with geographical coordinates being entered on charts.

That was how it was done until, say, the 1960s, but those days are vitually over. Infra-red, laser or micro-wave radiation has replaced the surveyor's eagle eye at the theodolite.

The pole has been replaced by a target reflector that records distances with unprecedented accuracy along lines similar to those of sonic depth-finders.

Angles are recorded with electronic precision, with all ratings being noted and evaluated electronically by the microcomputer that is the electronic brain of the device.

The surveying revolution began in the early 1960s when longer distances (up to 60km) began to be measured by laser reflection and even longer ones (up to 150km) by micro-waves. Then came the introduction of electronic tachymeters, enabling the surveyor to locate objects within several kilometres of a fixed point to within a few millimetres. Using the conventional optical tachymeter telescope the measuring radius was only about 100 metres. Measurement of lines and angles for the triangulation network was also done electronically.

needless to say, and wide angle measurement's days are numbered.

There are much more convenient celestial fixed points by which surveyors can determine their exact position: satellites.

In countries where large areas have yet to be surveyed, such as Canada, classical triangulation has already been abandoned in favour of satellite positioning.

Surveyors may well dispense entirely with terrestrial fixed points in future (wherever they can legally do so, that is). They will rely on their electronic tachymeter.

Once it is in position all they need to do is take their coordinates from the nearest satellite and then start working on surveying the vicinity.

The electronic method is more accurate than optical surveying. In short-range surveying for a "fast take" of the terrain from a single fixed point the margin of error is about three millimetres per kilometre.

In long-range surveying it can be reduced to a single millimetre provided the influence of fluctuations in temperature and atmospheric pressure on the speed of light is borne in mind.

A one-degree fluctuation in temperature or a three-millibar change in atmospheric pressure can cause a margin of error of one millimetre per kilometre.

Surveyors now go even further, using what amount to intelligent target tracking tachymeters that automatically follow target movements and constantly realign coordinates.

The microprocessor that is the key to every electronic tachymeter is programmed to emit radiation in small but growing circles when it loses track of its target and keep on searching until it has relocated the target reflector.

The device is capable of processing additional data on temperature and atmospheric pressure changes so as not to miscalculate on account of meteorological variations.

It can even take into account target errors caused by fog or screening by a foreign object such as a passing truck.

The first georobot, as the intelligent target tracking tachymeter has been dubbed, was designed at Hanover University department of geodesy by Professor Heribert Kahmen and his staff.

It was put through its paces inthe Aachen open-cast brown coalfield, where the terrain is constantly changing as coal is mined and slag heaps mount up.

The first georobot to be put to commercial use is intended for use in brown coalmining near Aachen.

The design team envisage any number of important uses for their target tracking tachymeter, collaborating in Switzerland, for instance, with Zurich University glaciologists.

Glacier watch

They hope to kee a continual watch on glacier movements by georobot. A constant vigil has not been possible in the past but could shed fresh light on movement patterns of glaciers and help to give early warning of glacier mishaps.

On the North Sea coast of Schleswig-Holstein surveyors hope to use the georobot to check faster movements: the changing pattern of moving channels in the mud flats that can endanger coastal safety.

Channel movements can currently be checked by sending boats out to sound their depth and changes in cross-section. But never before has it been possible, other than at great expense, to determine the exact position of boats as they carried out soundings.

A georobot could easily keep track of target reflectors on board the boats and maintain a second-by-second record of their movements and positions as they went about their work.

Harald Steinert

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 11 February 1984)

Mapping error that never went away

America (the name, if not the continent) was a mistake. It was made in Germany in 1507 by a Freiburg student who attributed to Amerigo Vespucci the discovery of the New World.

He later realised his error and corrected the entry in a map of the world he compiled in 1513, but by then Columbus was out of luck. The name America had gained acceptance.

The cartographer's name was Martin Waldseemüller, styled Ilakomilus or Hylacomylus in Latin and Greek. He was born between 1472 and 1476 and his father was a Freiburg butcher.

He was a student at the university in his native town from the age of 14 to 18, although there is no record of what he studied.

But the turning point in his academic career was when he met the Carthusian prior Gregor Reisch, the confessor and teacher of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I.

From this time on he decided to concentrate on geography and cartography, which in those days were known as cosmography.

Professor Reisch taught him the Ptolemaic view of the world. Waldseemüller and other students were taught how to read geographical charts and update them on the basis of the latest discoveries.

Waldseemüller and his Alsatian friend Mathias Ringmann, who as a good humanist adopted the name Philesius Vogesigena, specialised in cosmographic work and the printing of maps.

They keenly studied the reports made by contemporary seafarers about their voyages of discovery. Ringmann was particularly enthusiastic about the account of his travels made by Amerigo Vespucci from Florence.

Vespucci made several voyages to the New World discovered by Christopher

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Martin Waldseemüller's world map of 1507 in which he made his historic mistake about the discovery of America. (Chart: Albert-Ludwig University, Freiburg)

■ PHILOSOPHY

Ernst Haeckel and the Riddles of the World

Jena zoologist Ernst Haeckel exercised an influence on his contemporaries at the turn of the century that was greater than that wielded by any scientist since.

All over the world views differed on a man whose views were unquestionably stimulating but whose supporters were seen by many Christians and philosophers as godless materialists.

Yet Haeckel himself taught monism, the view that reality is one unitary organic whole governed by an all-encompassing supreme being who created everything and keeps it in motion.

He even helped to gain acceptance for the theory of evolution in England, where Darwin first devised it. He was an unimaginably industrious research scientist who unearthed one proof after another of the evolution of species.

He invariably pitted his own observations against the fine words and fundamentalist convictions of his opponents, and most of his observations were found to be conclusive.

It was through no fault of his that now, in retrospect, some no longer appear as conclusive as they once did. He came to grief on connections that in his day no-one could possibly have even considered.

The basic reason for such mistakes as he did make may well have been that he and many of his fellow-scientists all over the world were carried away by the tremendous pace of scientific development and discovery.

In their day the world seemed scientifically explainable, at least in principle. Now, 150 years after Haeckel's birth, we know much more yet are so far away from any such hope that we tend to feel explaining everything is totally impossible.

Above all, we know that no-one can think beyond the dimensions of time and space. We can only believe, and that no longer has anything to do with science.

Ernst Haeckel taught at Jena University for an astonishingly long time. He was its intellectual nucleus from 1861 to 1909.

Klaus Mehnert in his *Kampf um Maos Erbe* (German title: The Struggle for Mao's Heritage) says even Lenin and Mao as a young man were carried away by this wave of popularisation.

The cultural revolution might, he argues, have been a misunderstood result of the idea of ongoing (biological) development.

Mao certainly regarded Haeckel as one of the really great Germans.

Haeckel's views include tenets that in their day were revolutionary, now are considered trivial, yet are again called into question by Biblical fundamentalists.

"Man's descent from an extinct chain of primates is no longer a vague hypothesis," he argued. "It is a historic fact."

The dispute in this issue has long been conducted on a plane as subdued as the degree of ignorance in respect of proof of biochemical relationships is on the increase.

To explain his world view Haeckel also referred to his famous law of biogenetics according to which the development of the embryo reflects the phylogeny of the living creature.

It is a law that has been constantly challenged ever since, but everyone will now admit that some mammal organs undergo preliminary stages in the embryo phase that can only have anything to do with their distant forebears and nothing to do with the species today.

Man today has neither gill arches nor a tail, yet the human embryo has vestiges of both (and more besides).

Anyone who compares the earliest body shapes of mammal embryos, including those of humans, is bound to see, as Haeckel did, the incredible likeness with their forebears.

Haeckel, who knew nothing about present-day serology, can hardly be blamed for generalising on this point. Who can tell where we still generalise today by virtue of facts of which we are unaware?

Surprise and consternation are sure to befall anyone who looks today at Haeckel's most popular book, *Welträtsel* (Riddles of the World).

"The 19th century," it reads, "has brought about greater progress in our understanding of nature and what makes it tick than all previous centuries. it has solved many major 'riddles of the world' that at its outset were felt to defy solution."

At the end of the present century all that will need to be done is to change the figure to make it read 20th and not 19th century.

The most important change will be that 100 years after Haeckel first wrote these words his law of mechanical causality will no longer predominate in scientific thinking.

It will have been replaced by the realisation that we are far removed from a causal explanation of matter, always assuming there is one.

We no longer have such an "immovable guiding star the clear light of which shows us the way through the dark labyrinth of the countless individual phenomena."

In its place physicists hope there will be a uniform theory of natural forces. It hopes to be able to prove the decay of the proton or to exactly assess the amount of matter in the universe.

As for other present-day riddles of the world, such as the origins of life on earth, there is no more than more or less likely theories because the historical process of evolution cannot be simulated.

All we know for sure is that it could have happened by means of the laws of chemical compounds, but we will never know exactly how it came about.

Science today has hopefully gone beyond Haeckel in deliberately limiting itself to what can be perceived.



Ernst Haeckel and evidence

(Photo: Hi

Haeckel's monism, the unity of na that is clearly visible on earth, was i tended to bridge the gap between sp and matter. In the final analysis he f they were one.

Nowadays that too has become a pe sonal assumption, independent of re search work. Or, as Nobel prize-win Manfred Eigen once put it:

"To judge by what I have been t about God he had not forbidden me investigate his work."

Georg Kleeman

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 16 Februar

■ EXPLORATION

Adventures in Africa and orders from Bismarck

Coincidence and lung trouble were the reasons why Gustav Nachtigal, born 150 years ago near Stendal in what is now East Germany, became one of the most famous African explorers of the 19th century.

His father, a clergyman, died young of consumption, as did his elder brother. So after qualifying as a doctor he decided to give his ailing lungs a taste of the dry air of North Africa.

He spent six years in Algeria and Tunisia, latterly as the court physician to the Bey of Tunis, but was appalled by the misery and decay that surrounded him.

In autumn 1868 he was on the point of sailing back to Germany when the North African explorer Gerhard Rohlfs visited Tunis.

Rohlfs had been entrusted by King Wilhelm I of Prussia to take gifts to the Sultan of Bornu on Lake Chad as a token of gratitude for assistance given to many German explorers.

Sheikh Omar had helped Heinrich Barth and Adolf Overweg, Eduard Vogel, Moritz von Beurmann and Rohlfs himself, and lent them generous assistance.

Rohlfs was not keen on crossing the Sahara again with the bulky crates. He was more interested in exploring Cyrenaica.

Would Dr Nachtigal be interested in lending a hand? Nachtigal did not hesitate for a moment. On 18 February 1869, five days before his 35th birthday, he set out from Tripoli.

More by coincidence than by design it was the beginning of a voyage of discovery that took over five years and ended in Khartoum.

"If I had known then that destiny was to keep me busy for over five years in unknown areas of the fateful continent," he wondered later, "would I have had the courage to go ahead?"

Gustav Nachtigal . . . short but full life

(Photo: Historia)

He succeeded in pulling off two firsts that no-one was to emulate for years. He was the first European to travel to the gloomy gigantic craters of the Tibesti mountains in what is now northern Chad.

He was also first to cross eastern Sudan from Lake Chad to the White Nile, Sudan being understood to mean not the present state but the entire savannah belt along the southern perimeter of the Sahara.

In July 1869 he reached the Tibesti range and in August Bardai oasis, where the locals were hostile, suspecting the stranger might be a spy.

Stones, spears and the dreaded c cumflexes (a kind of iron projec were thrown at him. He was kept a v tual prisoner for weeks.

In September he made a daredevil g away by night. His account was such deterrent that it was to be another years before white men returned to area.

In 1917 French military columns cupied the mountains.

Nachtigal rested for a while in Mu suk and learnt the tragic news of murder of his Dutch ladyfriend Alex drina Tinne by roving Tuaregs.

He then set out along the old Bo trail to Kuka on Lake Chad, arriving July 1870. Sheikh Omar was pleased learn that the King of far-off Pr was grateful to him.

He was delighted by the red v throne with rich gilt trimmings Ki Wilhelm had sent as a gift. Much Nachtigal's relief the throne had been moth-eaten en route.

From Kuka he paid several visits Borku, Kanem and Bagirmi, north-e east and south-east of Lake Chad spectively.

He frequently travelled with hordes of slave-hunters and witnes scenes of appalling carnage. He set eastwards on the long way home March 1873.

On his way lay the feared kingdom Wadai where Eduard Vogel had be killed in 1856. Moritz von Beurm who had set out to find Vogel, was ki in Kanem in 1863.

Contrary to expectations Nacht was given a cordial welcome by S Ali of Wadai in Abeche and allowed look around in his kingdom.

What he noted on 500 manusc pages was the most comprehensive cumentation on the area until after Second World War.

Nachtigal reached the White Nile Darfur and Kordofan and arrived Khartoum in the late summer of 1874

"My soul is dim and capable of

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■ EXHIBITIONS

New look at untrammeled Catalan freedom

Joan Miró shames his critics even in death. The exhibition of his late works is as full of surprises as was the show of Picasso's late works in Basel.

An exhibition in Nuremberg's *Kunsthalle* shows a selection of 240 paintings, sculptures, drawings, posters and graphic works — all done in Mallorca after 1960.

The exhibition was organised before the artist's death a short while ago and the material is on loan from the Miró Foundation in Barcelona. The works first went to Vienna, where they were put on show early last December to mark the artist's 90th birthday.

The surprise in Nuremberg stems from the vitality and youthfulness of the exhibits.

Most people seem to have underestimated the regenerative powers of the great Catalan. And nobody speaks any more of Miró's naive playfulness and repetitiveness.

True, thematically, the bestiary remained alive — even after Miró moved to the new studio Lluis Sert provided for him in Palma — complete with the constellation of "Women", "Heads", "Birds" and "Stars". But they are now presented in an entirely unaccustomed way.

Around 1960 he began to delve into his own artistic past. He questioned his creations, his material, his technique, his handwriting and, above all, his popular image that threatened to enshrine him between colourful picture postcards and glossy art books.

Experimenting, he built up a defence against himself.

The impulses — after a long creative pause — came from his trip to America and personal contacts with fellow artists like Jackson Pollock. They also came from the move into the big, empty studio that cried out for new creativity.

The second spurt of creativity was preceded by a bout of intensive collecting and reviewing.

Many of Miró's late paintings point to Pollock's influence. He seems to have adopted Pollock's "drippings" as a model. There are exploding and dripping smudges of colour and "gesture symbols."

But to pin him down to this would be tantamount to misunderstanding Miró's basic trait: spontaneity. It would also be ignoring his ability to track down what suited him and convert it into inimitable creations.

It was America that encouraged him to break the confines of threatening petrification.

Ever since the 1920s, when he departed from the realistic depiction of nature, Miró's work have been marked by gesture symbols. But now there is an added quality of laconic terseness and concentration.

What surprises is the gruff frankness of his language, the forgoing of any pleasing colour effect. The only residue of this that is still in evidence is in his 1972 tapestry design.

Even in his most absurd material collages, humour is at best tragicomical.

His square "Personage" of 1938, balancing on two footprints, has a slash in its bronze face: the knowingly crooked smile of an old man.

Many of the human figures collated from scrap or vegetable material present the melancholy of erosion and ephemerality.

The scabby, seemingly moss-covered heads stare at the viewer like dying primeval animals.

The metamorphosis of pumpkins, dented tins, plates, spoons, cut footballs, etc. are shaped by an inescapable logic that makes the viewer overlook the surrealistic gag.

It is not the pretzel the 1970 bronze woman has for a head, not her spoon arm not her serviette foot, but the overall appearance that makes this montage an inimitable sculpture.

The dialogue-like interplay, the balance of welling masses and hollow forms, distorted squares and bloated round shapes, smooth and pitted surfaces, show an unerring instinct for everything touchable — even if some of the items were technically modelled on Picasso.

One cannot sufficiently admire the richness and inventiveness and the monumental power that is in evidence even in the smallest format.

The lacquered works like "Sitting Woman with Child", "Her Majesty" and the pitchfork "Woman with Bird" are gayer and almost a bit with it.

The copper prints of the 1960 show Miró as a wily and many-faceted magician.

The way he used sophisticated aquatint and embossing effects, positive and negative forms, the linear and the watery, ornaments and flat areas (tapestries) shows a master at work.

In his 1968 "Arrowhead" and the 1969 black and white "Magnetiser", Miró ventures far out of the sphere of surrealist abstraction.

His personages surviving the crisis in his own painting.

But is it not as if the bizarre figures of old were in mourning?

Silhouette - like, black-surfaced like ghosts that have lost their way, fear in their eyes, they appear before the bright background. In fact, even the titles of the works frequently contain references to "night". The road into darkness, the loss of sight and life, seem ordained. The untrammeled freedom with which Miró used his symbols and figures is amazing. The timeliness makes one forget that all the old master did was to reactivate tried and proven possibilities, making the formula elemental. Even so, it is surprising to find Miró so closely akin to Penck's archaic hieroglyphics and to see the lack of concern with which he burns and bores through surfaces, shreds paper and uses the most widely differing materials in his painted collages. The paint is applied to the canvas either thickly or flowingly. He lets it run and bleed. And sometimes letters are made to dance on cloudlike colour backgrounds.

Miró's 'May 1968', oil on canvas.

(Photo: Catalogue)

Depending in his mood, Miró uses "point and line related to surface" either ascetically or fashionably and rich in nuance.

His contrasting pure colours and linear arches helped him conquer the large format as well.

In his 1974 triptych "The Hope of a Man Condemned to Death," the symbolic language shrinks to a bent black brush stroke in a magically bright room. It bends and cowers under the red blood symbol, hesitantly opening up towards the suspended blue in the top centre, finally swinging upwards and escaping into an oblique orbit around the yellow spot of sun.

There are also discoveries to be made among his drawings, though there are some devil-may-care failures among them as well.

What the viewer is confronted with is a mature artist boldly jumping over the shadow of a lifelong artistic experience and success.

But the shadow of his genius was always with him.

Even a generation of artists that mistrusts the Catalan master and pins its hopes on venturing into the unknown should be able to enthuse over Joan Miró.

Wolfgang Rainer

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 17 February 1984)

Continued from page 10

more than the reduced Central African wingspan in higher flights of the intellect," he wrote to a ladyfriend back home.

"But my outer body, clad in a dirty brown crust, is in reasonably good condition."

In 1882 Chancellor Bismarck remembered his successful mission to Sheikh Omar and appointed him German consul-general in Tunis.

When German businessmen complained in increasing numbers of British and French intrigue along the coast of West Africa Bismarck appointed him Reich commissioner and sent him in to fly the flag.

He set sail from Lisbon on board the gunboat *Möwe* and arrived in Baguida on the slave coast on 4 July 1884. German and Swiss tourists now spend holidays there on the outskirts of Lomé, the Togolese capital.

On the following day he raised the German flag on Lake Togo. In the weeks that followed he did so in various places in Cameroun.

But Nachtigal was exhausted. On his way home, off the coast of Guinea, he died on board the *Möwe* on 20 April 1885. He was only 51.

Heinz Delvendahl

(Rheinische Post, 21 February 1984)

Nostalgia and the lines of the 1950s

The exhibition "The Fifties — Style Contours of a Decade" in Munich's Stuckvilla coincides with a nostalgia wave for the 1950s.

The young of today surround the 1950s — the none-too-rosy post-war and reconstruction years — with an aura of sentimentality. They admire the shapes and objects of those years as something beautiful, weird and shrill.

This goes for the parents' clothing as it does for the kidney-shaped tables or rock'n roll and the tearjerker films of the era. All this is "in" now.

But the items on show in Munich have nothing to do with it. There is nothing mass produced and the exhibits — glassware, ceramics, porcelain, silver and furniture — are articles unrelated to everyday life in the 1950s.

They are objets d'art that have an aesthetic component in addition to their functionalism.

There is a direct aesthetic line leading from art nouveau via art deco to the 1950s.

The shapes are simple but pleasing, the colours are hinted at yet glaring: oval objects, extruded bottlenecks that widen at the top (as in glassware), simple shapes and décor, black and yellow surfaces broken by threads of milky glass and white-red mosaics on a black background. All of this looks artificial and manneristic.

The atom bomb explosion (depicted by crater-like holes in vases and molecular structures) is translated into decorative art.

It was primarily the Scandinavian designers who used motifs from nature. Compared with early pre-war functionalism, these forms are softer, more organic and more human.

The furniture was made from natural woods and textiles were rough and natural, or at least pretended to be.

The bulk of the show was provided by the private collection of the real-estate broker Bantele. Most of the exhibits come from the finest studios and factories of Italy France and Scandinavia.

Germany is barely represented because of the disruption by the 12-year Nazi regime — a time during which foreign designers were able to develop their own ideas.

Things that were considered new and modern in Germany after 1945 were part of a continuous artistic development elsewhere. But the exhibition itself does not convey these facts. They have to be gathered from the catalogue.

The question as to whether that decade is a homogenous cultural period remains unanswered.

The words "style contours" are therefore a bit ambitious. The exhibition simply highlights a random range of pleasing arts and crafts.

Charly Prestele

(Mannheimer Morgen, 15 February 1984)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Pollution to drinking water threatens to become ecological catastrophe

Polluted drinking water threatens to become an ecological catastrophe.

First, rivers became downgraded to the status of toxic rivulets of effluent, with the result that waterworks have had to take 80 per cent of their water from the water table.

And now we are told that the waste produced by industrial society is polluting even the ground water.

High nitrate counts in ground water, a result of overfertilising by farmers, have long upset many local authorities.

The latest problem is halogenised hydrocarbons. They are substances not found in nature but widely used industrially. They are not degradable in water and are enriched in the food cycle.

Some of the several thousand halogenised hydrocarbon compounds have been shown in tests of laboratory animals to be carcinogenic.

Chemists are coming across halogenised hydrocarbons in nearly all water samples. they take nowadays, and increasingly often they are finding tolerance levels exceeded.

In Stuttgart, where inspectors recently checked some of the emergency and regular water supplies, 30 out of 62 wells were found to contain water that exceeded the limit.

In Feuerbach, a Stuttgart surburb, the Federal Health Agency's 25-microgram safety level was exceeded 600-fold.

This safety level is not binding or of *any real significance. A mandatory* ceiling has yet to be specified. No-one knows in what concentration these hydrocarbons are a human health hazard and in what period.

The European Community has opted for caution and decided for safety's sake in favour of a recommended ceiling of one microgram per litre of drinking--water.

The Bonn Interior Ministry goes even further, saying halogenised hydrocarbons ought not to be in tap water in any quantity whatever.

Given the sad reality this is wishful thinking, which is why the Stuttgart authorities have decided to interpret the EEC recommendation as a "general requirement" rather than a binding one.

It is a recommendation that can seldom be put into practice, they argue. Even the expensive active carbon filters many water works are now busy installing can only extract 90 per cent of organic halogen compounds from the water filtered.

A number of halogenised hydrocarbons slip through the active carbon filter unhindered. When they are identified the wells just have to be shut down, and this is happening increasingly often.

Industrial toxins must in any case first be identified before wells are shut down or filters are installed, and many small water works never even bother to look.

There is no legislation obliging them to check. Larger water boards may carry out voluntary checks, but Common Market guidelines will not require mandatory checks until the end of 1985.

The law lags well behind developments with regard to hydrocarbons. They have been known since 1975 to be a problem in connection with ground water.

The same is true of other precautions. The Bonn Interior Ministry feels it is high time ground water was checked all over the country.

But for cost reasons the extension of checks to cover the entire country will probably be spread over a longer period than might be considered advisable from the public health angle.

Bonn also has only an overall framework responsibility for water legislation and complains that the *Länder* have been dragging their feet.

Max Bauer, the Interior Ministry official responsible for ground water conservation, says Baden-Württemberg has been exemplary in checking firms that use halogenised hydrocarbons over the past year.

But Baden-Württemberg, like most of the Federal states, has failed to implement regulations on the storage of substances that are a potential threat to water supplies. They are required to do so by the 1976 Water Supplies Act.

Local authority officials may be in a position to check companies that are potential water pollution offenders, but for lack of regulations that cannot take satisfactory action.

Dealing with the problem is by no means easy. Environmental sins committed in the 1950s and 1960s are in some case now coming to light in the ground water.

Besides, in a country where anyone can manufacture virtually anything it wants there are an enormous number of loopholes through which toxins can seep into the ground.

They can seep through concrete catchment basins that were long felt to be impervious to halogenised hydrocarbons.

They can spill when being pumped from hosepipes. They can pour from gutters and down drains in which the seals are corroded by hydrocarbons.

In several cases entire drain sections have had to be replaced. In the Heidelberg area drums burst that a company had stored on a concrete base near a gravel surface.

The company hoped the toxins might evaporate instead of seeping into the ground water, but its hopes were not fulfilled.

Baden-Württemberg factory inspectors say one firm in three is guilty of irregularities in its handling of halogenised hydrocarbons. In the Heidelberg area 30 offenders have been identified.

Since 1980 water purification has cost DM20m. The authorities and the water boards were only able to collect DM4.5m in fines from offenders.

The source of pollution was either unidentifiable or could not be identified beyond doubt.

Jörn G. Praetorius

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 18 February 1984)

The mapping of America

Continued from page 9

Columbus in 1492. In 1505, aged 22, Ringmann wrote a eulogy on the far-distant land he imagined had been discovered by Vespucci, who had described it in such enthralling terms.

Martin Waldseemüller, who was working on a new version of Ptolemy's map of the world, likewise felt that a man who described a country so comprehensively as Vespucci had must have been the one who discovered it.

He eagerly collected information about the new continent so as to include it in his new map, which was published in 1507.

It was entitled A Description of the Whole World, both on a Globe and on a Map, and including Countries unknown to Ptolemy and only Recently Discovered.

It was prefaced by an introduction entitled Cosmographiae introductio.

Only one copy is still in existence. It was a gigantic map on 12 woodcut sheets that arranged side by side cover an area of nearly three square metres.

Waldseemüller's tale is told and his life's work described by Freiburg research scientist and biographer Franz Laubenberger.

Hylacomylus's world view differed from the maps of Italian and Portuguese explorers in one main respect. Known areas of South and Central America and the Antilles were shown for the first time as a single continent.

He gave it its first name: America. The name had a feminine ending because in Latin, the language of the humanists, Europe, Asia and Africa were also feminine.

That was the explanation given by Mathias Ringmann in the accompanying brochure. "Amerigo," he wrote, "is the country of Americus or America, given that both Europa and Asia derive their names from women."

"I named if after Americus, who discovered it, a man with an intelligent mind," Waldseemüller explained. The rest was routine.

The map was outstandingly accurate in its day and sold like hot cakes, being pirated widely. The first print run of 1,000 was soon sold out, as Waldseemüller complained.

In 1508 he complained about the flood of pirate editions copying his work and spreading the name America. The scholarly world kept the name long after Waldseemüller had realised his mistake.

Waldseemüller's cartographic life's work was his revised version of Ptolemy published in 1513 in Strasbourg and known as the Strasbourg Ptolemy.

In the 1513 map the name America was no longer used. Hylacomylus sought to do Columbus justice after having erroneously credited Vespucci with the discovery.

"This country and the adjacent lands," he wrote, "were discovered by Christopher Columbus on behalf of the King of Castile." But by then it was too late to make amends, as we now know.

Ulla Bettge

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 20 February 1984)

In an unusual display of unanimity Anton Pfeifer, CDU state secretary at the Bonn Education Ministry, and Kurt Vogelsang, SPD chairman of the Bundestag education and science committee, have stirred up the same hornets' nest.

Given the increasing numbers of graduate teachers coming on to the market without the prospect of a job, both men have resurrected the idea of a form of job sharing.

Their idea is to reduce by an hour a week the hours worked by teachers in employment, and to cut their salaries accordingly.

The savings will be used exclusively to provide jobs for teachers who are out of work.

Reviewing the interim findings of an inter-Ministerial working party, Herr Pfeifer says a cut in hours worked (and paid) of an hour a week would be enough to enable about 20,000 unemployed teachers to be offered a job.

Herr Vogelsang has announced in this connection that the salary cut would be roughly four per cent, while Herr Pfeifer says further salary cuts could well be considered.

If both husband and wife were employed and earning more than a certain amount, the husband's or wife's allowance weighting could be curtailed.

That, he said, could make it possible to employ a further 10,000 to 15,000 out-of-work teachers.

The working party is to consider proposals in detail for feasibility, and it has all-party expert backing in the Bundestag.

Herr Vogelsang says all members of the Bundestag committee are agreed on the need for moves of this kind, and he is a member of the Social Democratic Opposition.

■ EDUCATION

Howls of protest expected over job-sharing plan

He was well aware of the howls of protest that were sure to come from teachers' unions, which was why he countered it in advance.

Criticism, he argued, could be countered once it was clear that the saving would definitely and verifiably be reinvested innew teaching jobs.

There must be no question of it disappearing in Finance Ministry coffers. Herr Vogelsang appealed to the solidarity of employed teachers with teachers who were out of work.

But teachers' unions dismissed the idea immediately, although not out of hand. The leaders of both major unions argued mainly that their members could not be expected to make special sacrifices.

"There can be no question of teachers financing the employment of other teachers," said Dieter Wunder of GEW, one of the unions.

There could also be no question of teachers alone among public service employees being required to work a shorter working week.

Any solutions reached must apply to the public service as a whole.

Clemens Christians of the Deutscher Lehrerverband, the other major union, has referred to "manipulation of teachers' salaries."

If politicians were to reach agreement with IG Metall, the 2.5m-member iron, steel and engineering workers' union, on wage cuts to accompany a shorter working week, then the idea might be taken up again.

Teachers, he said, were not an "easily manoeuvrable financial policy leeway." Besides, there was a "strange" ring to talk of hiring more teachers when the *Länder* had scrapped 20,000 teaching jobs in recent years.

The teachers' unions have other ideas. Herr Wunder has referred in a letter to Herr Pfeifer to the call for a 35-hour week for the teaching profession.

"If it is introduced over a three-year period and the extra cost is offset against funds otherwise available for salary increases," he wrote, "then it ought to be possible, given political determination on the part of all concerned, to combine a 35-hour week with the creation of new jobs."

At present teachers at ordinary schools have been found by a Knight-Wegenstein survey to work on average between 43 and 47 hours a week.

This surely indicates how hopeless his aim of changing over to a 35-hour week within three years seems, especially as he envisages teachers forgoing salary rises rather than forfeiting an appropriate percentage of their pay.

The proposal backed by Pfeifer and Vogelsang at present seems the only feasible one, given the shortage of public funds, to create jobs for any substantial number of unemployed teachers.

This job creation is indispensable for two main reasons over and above the happiness of the unemployed teachers themselves.

Given the current age pattern in the teaching profession only two to two and a half per cent a year are going to retire annually between now and 1990.

Failing suitable measures there would be sure to be a process of encrustation and ageing in the staff common rooms.

And even though fewer students are opting for teaching courses there would still be an increase to an economically insane level in the number of qualified but unemployed teachers.

According to estimates by the Standing Conference of *Land* Education Ministers a further 115,000 graduate teachers will be turned out by universities and teacher training colleges by the end of the decade.

Peter Philipps

(Die Welt, 10 January 1984)

Jobless teachers find an alternative

What do you do when you have qualified as a teacher but can't find a job? An increasing number of unemployed young teachers are going in for alternative school work.

Alternative education emerged in the 1970s, often as a result of trenchant criticism of established schooling. It is one solution to the problems unemployed teachers face.

They are setting up conference and congress facilities, educational and leisure centres, looking after young people and running adult education arrangements.

Young teachers who stand no chance of gaining access to the profession via state schools are trying to avoid the fate of welfare recipients or jacks-of-all-trades by organising educational work of their own.

But the pressure of competition is reducing the number of opportunities of employment in the private educational sector.

Experts no longer feel able even to guess how many independently-run, self-administered conference facilities there now are.

Their number seems likely to boom in much the same way as the number of wholefood and wool shops has boomed, but with education budgets being curtailed, existing facilities could be forced to close.

Free educational work is in any case unlikely to provide a genuinely satisfactory solution to the problems of unemployed teachers, of whom there will soon be well over 100,000 in the Federal Republic.

"Very few of them can be expected to stand the strain of the constant fight for survival," says Rainer Strege, 32, a teacher who has worked for years at a leisure and education centre in Barsinghausen, near Hanover.

He belongs to a generation of graduates that still stood a chance of being employed at state schools but preferred to try out alternative educational experiments.

He is well aware that he now has no option but to work at the self-administered education centre where he and five others work.

They began five years ago by buying a 200-year-old farmhouse for conversion into a congress centre. It would otherwise have been demolished.

With the aid of friends they redesigned the building to ensure there were enough rooms for teaching and seminar work, a youth centre, a metal workshop, accommodation and a canteen.

Staff have not yet finished renovation. Repairs are constantly necessary.

Running the centre and keeping the building clean are also part of the day's work. They are an additional burden in the daily struggle for financial survival and to organise seminars and youth work.

Staff work long and irregular hours to earn just enough to make ends meet. There can be no comparison with what teachers in state school earn.

Rooms in the seminar section of the centre are used mainly by disadvantaged groups who are otherwise given little help with school, work or leisure activities. Political education courses are run in collaboration with adult education facilities such as the *Volkshochschule*, or local authority evening classes.

Twelve-month school-leaving certificate courses are run for unemployed youngsters. Three times a week about 30 young people from neighbouring rural areas attend youth club activities.

Barsinghausen pays toward the rent in return for the youth club work. There are also courses in English and music, amateur dramatics, discos and slide shows.

Twenty self-administered educational facilities in Lower Saxony have joined forces to campaign for support.

They are all an attempt to provide schooling outside the official school framework. They combine a high degree of commitment with a chronic shortage of cash.

Friedhelm Henkel

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 10 February 1984)

■ HOMO SAPIENS

On the threshold of a Brave New World

In 10 years or so, scientists say, anyone will be able to give a blood sample at the nearest hospital and pick up a computer printout of his genetic code a few hours later.

We are on the brink of becoming transparent, right through to the nuclei of every cell in our bodies.

We will be able to find out which of between four and eight hereditary diseases we are likely to have and what substances our bodies are sensitive to.

We will know which factors are a lethal danger and what genes we will have to be careful of in future partners if we consider having children in the conventional manner.

Some scientists feel information of this kind will have to be recorded on ID cards of our genetic make-up and stored in data banks.

That, they say, is the only way in which the genetic pool of the population as a whole can be analysed and risk groups isolated and identified.

Molecular biologists tried 20 years ago to argue the case for genetic screening, using an argument that to this day has yet to be substantiated.

In an industrial society where life is no longer, as in nature, a struggle for survival man's genetic make-up is said to be deteriorating.

That is because inferior hereditary factors are able to spread without being subjected to the process of selection known as survival of the fittest.

Medical progress is said to be one such way in which the course of natural selection is perverted. Such complaints are nothing new.

"If only all cads could be castrated and all silly young geese sent to convent," the German philosopher Artur Schopenhauer enthused in the early years of the 19th century.

"If people with noble characters," he wrote (meaning men), "were to be assigned entire harems and girls with intellect and understanding were to be given men — real men — why an entire generation would soon come about that amounted to even more than a Periclean age."

A century ago the British scientist Francis Galton coined the term eugenics to describe man's age-old dream of a better society: "the science that deals with all influences that improve the hereditary qualities of a race."

People who put Galton's theory into practice have often proved to be foes of mankind, ordering the sterilisation of 60,000 coloured women in the United States in the early 1920, for instance.

Their efforts have always been directed against a specific population group. The perverted eugenic strategy of the Nazis ended in euthanasia, concentration camps and crematoriums.

Bonn Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber must not forget this evil legacy of the past in imposing legal safeguards, contrary to earlier plans, on the use of genetic engineering on humans.

There is an arguably convincing reason why, in the wake of experience, the term eugenics was not banned entirely and scientists have used it unashamedly since the early 1960s.

In the past, they argued, there was no really scientific information on which it could be based.

But will the conclusions to be reached from what is now claimed to be conclusive evidence amount to more than the appalling distinction between supermen and sub-humans?

The decoding of genetic information can undeniably prevent human tragedies by means of genetic counselling for young couples or ante-natal diagnosis.

The missionary enthusiasm shown by a number of human geneticists can be explained in terms of the comment so many parents of a seriously handicapped baby have made: "If we had only known!"

At times a genetic analysis can make a diagnosis possible before even the first symptoms of illness have appeared, thereby making early therapy possible.

But what is to be done about people whose illnesses will not come to a head for 30 or 40 years, if ever, but for whom there is no prospect of cure?

Are they to be stigmatised for their defective genes throughout their healthy lives, maybe without standing a chance of finding a partner or even a job?

American experience of genetic screening is alarming. Companies reject job applicants as genetically unsuitable for jobs involving exposure to a high toxin level.

Insurance companies have demanded higher premiums from people with specific genetic patterns, or rather, they did so until this form of discrimination was banned by the courts.

The US Army still rules men out for certain military careers on account of defective genes.

What is so alarming is that reject-slips and higher premium demands were sent exclusively to racial and ethnic minorities who have a hard enough time of it in white America as it is.

"We have systematically sought to eliminate the sense of differences based on such superstition-laden criteria as race and colour of skin," says David Baltimore, the Nobel medicine prize winner.

"But molecular biology is now adding fuel to the fires of old prejudice."

What do the differences prove in the genetic concept, or what are they intended to prove?

It is not the data that are the crucial factor but the yardsticks by which they are selected and evaluated.

If seven out of 10 coloured people are unable to drink cow's milk is that a defect? That is what it is described as in specialist literature.

For decades IQs were determined on the basis of criteria by which boys were bound to gain a higher rating than girls because the tests stressed three out of about 120 abilities that were clearly more in keeping with boys' aptitudes and skills.

Yet for decades IQ test findings were taken as scientific proof that men were more intelligent than women.

There is no limit to the differences in genetic programmes that major or minor distinctions can be made to assume if need be.

The end-product could even be a society based on genetic principles along the lines of Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* and combining the class and racial thinking of ruling elites.

The genetically valuable members of society would take over the helm while the less valuable did the donkey work and the scientists debated.

Marianne Quoirin

(Kölner Stadt Anzeiger, 4 February 1984)

'Moral limit' to genetic experimenting

Bonn Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber says legal limits must be imposed to the use of genetic engineering techniques on humans.

He has told journalists in Bonn that a working party is to be formed by officials of his and the Justice Ministry to clarify ethical and legal aspects of the use of genetic engineering on man.

He has no fundamental objections to the idea of, say, test-tube babies being brought about by the ovum being fertilised outside the womb and implanted in it to treat female infertility.

But in practising this technique more fertilised ova were often used than needed for the transfer. The working party is seen as arriving at a solution on what to do with these surplus cells.

He is strongly opposed to possible experiments in cloning, or artificially producing twins or multiple births. He says it is ethically indefensible.

He also objects to conceivable experiments at creating living beings combining human and animal genes — hybrids. Human dignity utterly rules out any such ideas.

He stressed that no such experiments were in progress in Germany and as far as he knew none were in progress anywhere else in the world either.

Limits must also apply to the use of molecular biological methods to determine the genetic make-up of a person. Such techniques could be used to identify hereditary diseases in unborn children and hereditary disposition to specific complaints.

They can also be used to find out whether someone will run a particular high health risk at a certain job on account of their genetic make-up.

Herr Riesenhuber disclosed the findings of a debate by moral theologians, specialists in social ethics, scientists, politicians and lawyers on the ethical and legal problems of using genetic engineering and cellular biology methods on humans.

He felt curing diseases by bringing about genetic changes in body cells was defensible, but not so genetic changes to cells that were transmitted from one generation to the next.

Changes in hereditary genetic structures entailed risks that were far from clear in their repercussions.

But the Minister said the risk genetic engineering as a whole entailed was not as high as had originally been imagined.

The central commission on biological safety has said that no case has yet come to light in which research scientists or the environment had faced any dangers from work on newly-combined nucleic acids.

dpa

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 4 February 1984)

■ SPORT

The pearly gateway to a communist nirvana

Top-flight sport is seen throughout the East Bloc as a patriotic duty and a trump card in the interplay of political systems.

The West was a foregone loser at Sarajevo for this very reason. So why, one may fairly wonder, go to the trouble and expense of competing for Olympic honours?

That is a question that can be levelled at the Federal Republic of Germany in particular. Why, especially, should it be infected by medal hysteria?

Why must it always compare its showing with that of Germans from the GDR when it well knows that by virtue of ideological differences alone it cannot hope to compete with East Berlin on equal terms?

There are recognisable reasons for the turn events have taken. A major contributory factor to the gap between East and West is the dispute between the Soviet Union and the GDR for the top rating in world sport.

The energy generated in this rivalry between the USSR and the GDR is an enormous boost inasmuch as there is no such performance-boosting rivalry in the West.

The Soviet Union, like the Federal Republic, was a loser at Sarajevo, albeit at a different level and in a different context.

The Soviet team at the Winter Olympics chose not to fly home early after the death of Mr Andropov. Whether that was the right decision may well be debated back in Moscow.

As part of the transition to Mr Chernenko's leadership it might even lead to a fresh reshuffle at the top among Soviet sporting officialdom.

The Soviet Union certainly runs a serious risk of forfeiting its leadership in the socialist sporting camp.

Yet whoever gains the upper hand in the East Bloc there will be no change in the wide gap between East and West. Apart from a handful of Scandinavian specialities in the Nordic skiing disciplines the gap is arguably even wider at the Winter Olympics than in the summer.

This is due to the weakness of American and West German athletes who are usually better in summer than in winter events.

At the Summer Olympics the Federal Republic ranks fourth behind the Soviet Union, the GDR and the United States. At the Winter Olympics it rates eighth.

The most serious West German shortcoming is a lack of really good national coaches in winter sports. They can't hold a candle to their counterparts in summer events.

Know-how specific to the event being needed, the DSB, West Germany's Frankfurt-based Sports League, feels it has no choice but to drag ageing competitors from their sleds and skis and appoint them as coaches without giving them a general training in coaching.

Specialised knowledge has long ceased to be the sole crucial factor. Psychological, educational and medical know-how contribute at least 50 per cent toward performance these days.

West German competitors fared badly at Sarajevo partly on account of poor preparation in these sectors.

The East Bloc is streets ahead of the West in this respect and, surprisingly, in technology too, as in the bobsled.

Germans from Oberhof in Thuringia, GDR, may have to make do with driving outmoded two-stroke Trabant cars, but their bobsleds whoosh down the run like Rolls Royces.

Germans from Bavaria in the Federal Republic who may be accustomed to driving BMWs or Mercedes have to make do with agonisingly slow and outmoded bobs at the Olympics.

A particularly striking point is that there has been no change in the East's superiority even since the West succeeded in 1981 in getting the shamateur rules amended.

The East Bloc was strictly opposed to the change, whereas the West felt it might make all the difference.

Athletes can now officially earn money from sport, sign advertising contracts and have their starting fees credited to blocked bank accounts.

The East could be excused for fearing that this new ruling would boost Western athletes' motivation. But in Sarajevo at least these fears were shown to be premature.

That is probably because the number of Western athletes who stand to benefit from this new-found freedom by being able to train with their minds at ease is minute.

Athletes are keen to reintegrate in the working world. Very few succeed in earning their livelihood from sport. East Bloc athletes in contrast can be sure of all-round social safeguards.

That, in the final analysis, is the crucial advantage they enjoy.

West German biathlon exponent Peter Angerer managed to show the East Bloc a clean pair of heels in taking a gold, a silver and a bronze medal at Sarajevo.

In spite of its drawbacks sport in the Federal Republic has no alternative but to continue in this way. In a political system based on constant competition it can't just quit because it isn't much good in one specific sector.

But athletes and sports-lovers in the Federal Republic have yet to learn to come to terms with this reality.

Michael Gernandt

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 17 February 1984)

Sarajevo was not just a matter of snow

Forty-nine teams from 49 countries took part in the 14th Winter Olympics at Sarajevo, with two billion people watching the opening ceremony on TV.

It was the first of two acts in the world's largest mass drama this year. The Bosnian capital has added a new quality to what was already a historic name.

On 28 June 1914 Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, and his wife Sophie were assassinated in Sarajevo, triggering what was to be the First World War.

Seventy years later Sarajevo was a city where nations competed in sporting rivalry during a "temporary peace."

The modern Olympics are complex encounters arranged under a ramshackle roof built nearly 90 years ago by idealists.

Behind closed doors sessions of the International Olympic Committee are concerned with bare-faced politics and frankly commercial considerations.

Willi Daume, IOC vice-chairman and internationally-minded but tired head of the West German NOC, may cross swords with IOC president Juan Antonio Samaranch of Spain.

Señor Samaranch is the man who in the IOC's name has sold the Americans the Olympic flame for the Los Angeles Olympics for $5,000 per mile it is carried from coast to coast.

In Sarajevo one competitor was an insignificant Egyptian who entered for the downhill race in borrowed boots three sizes too big for him.

He competed with cosseted international stars whose every move was monitored by a squad of coaches and attendants. There is no such thing as equality of opportunity at today's Olympics.

Yet as Rudolf Hagelstange put it, individual athletes at Sarajevo showed "there are still big people, fighters who outdo themselves, win by virtue of sheer enthusiasm and have all the luck, while the robots and others with prearranged schedules are less lucky and are beaten."

There is still no disregarding the fact that Olympic athletes have still not succeeded in waiving the hypocritical ban on all but "amateurs."

The Protestant Church in Germany called years ago for this hypocritical distinction to be scrapped. Why should people not be paid for performance, it asked.

Performance was acknowledged as being worth its price in the economy and even in the arts. Why not in sport? Why should an athlete not qualify for the Olympic Games nowadays when he complied with the spirit of the age?

If the Olympics are controversial it is largely because of the worldwide hypocrisy to which they give rise every four years.

The dignified but businesslike old men of the IOC ought at long last to permit honesty in a sporting spectacular that belongs to the world, not to them alone.

If the Olympics give rise to criticism of this nature, what point is there is holding them in 1984? Sociologist Helmut Schelsky says their irrevocable aim is to keep the peace, if only temporarily.

The Olympic peace stands for a state of non-conflict in which peoples meet for the purpose of peaceful competition.

Given that the highest political task facing mankind is to make peace, the Olympic Games in 1984 are still a major contribution toward international coexistence in spite of restrictions in other sectors.

Sarajevo was more than just one of the many spectacles we are shown on TV. The Olympics have a general political significance and, in this case, a special one for Yugoslavia.

The population of Bosnia and Hercegovina consists of Serbs, Croats, Moslems, Slovenians, Albanians, Macedonians, Montenegrins, Hungarians, gipsies, Turks, Rumanians, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Ruthenians, Czechs and Italians.

That alone indicates the importance of the Olympics in fostering a Yugoslav national consciousness in a country in which so many different nationalities are represented.

Stronger national consciousness in Yugoslavia clearly means a boost to domestic politial stability.

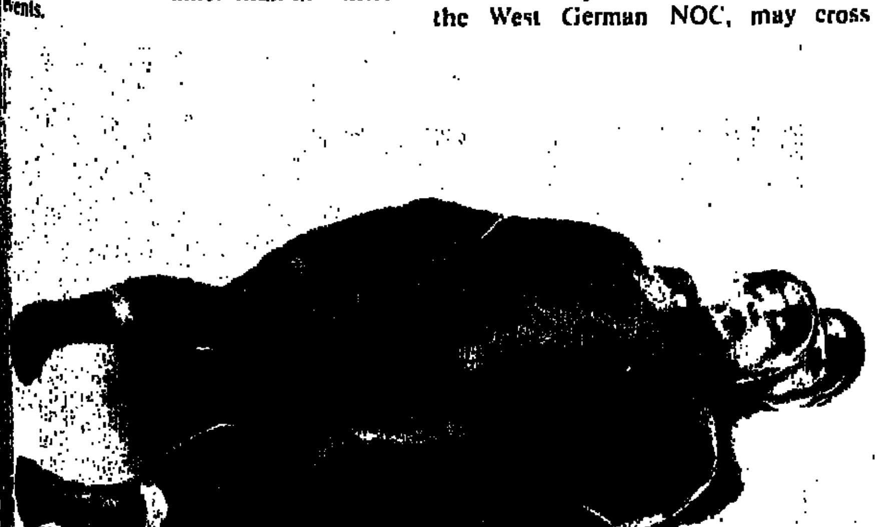
Economic promotion of Sarajevo and environs in connection with the Olympics is a further contributory factor, given that tourists will follow the Games.

So despite commercial connotations and the dispute over shamateurism there are still grounds for the categorical imperative stipulated by Avery Brundage in 1972.

After the tragic assassination of Israeli Olympic athletes at Munich the then IOC chairman said: "The Games must go on."

Klaus Grundgeiger

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 8 February 1984)



...way success. Hans Stanggassinger and Franz Wembacher of West Germany ... to a gold medal in the two-man bob. (Photos: AP)